



THE BRIAN RITCHIE COLLECTION OF
H.E.I.C. AND BRITISH INDIA MEDALS
Part II

WEDNESDAY 2 MARCH 2005
10 am PRECISELY

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AN AUCTION OF

THE BRIAN RITCHIE COLLECTION OF H.E.I.C. AND BRITISH INDIA MEDALS

Part II

The York Room (2nd Floor)
The New Connaught Rooms
61-65 Great Queen Street
London WC2

Wednesday 2nd March 2005

10 am precisely

Weekdays, Monday 14th to Friday 25th February
16 Bolton Street, Piccadilly, London W1
Viewing by appointment only

Monday 28th February and Tuesday 1st March
16 Bolton Street, Piccadilly, London W1
Public viewing 10 am to 4 pm

Wednesday 2nd March
The Warwick Room (2nd Floor), The New Connaught Rooms
Public viewing 10 am to 4 pm

In sending commissions or making enquiries please contact:
Nimrod Dix, David Erskine-Hill, Pierce Noonan or Brian Simpkin

VIEWING

All the lots in this auction are available to view, **strictly by appointment only**, at 16 Bolton Street, on weekdays from Monday 14 to Friday 25 February. **All appointments to view must be made with the Medal Department by telephoning +44 (0) 20 7016 1700.**

The public view is at Bolton Street on Monday 28 February and Tuesday 1 March, from 10.00 to 17.00 both days, and at the auction venue, the New Connaught Rooms on Wednesday, 2 March, from 08.00.

SALEROOM NOTICES

Any saleroom notices pertaining to this auction are automatically posted at the head of the **InterNews** section of the DNW website. Prospective bidders are urged to consult this facility before sending bids.

PRICES REALISED

A full list of prices realised can be viewed and printed from the Internet at www.dnw.co.uk from 21.00 GMT on 2 March. Telephone enquiries are welcome from 09.00 GMT on 3 March.

THE AUCTION VENUE

The **New Connaught Rooms** are located in **Great Queen Street**, in the heart of London's Covent Garden. The auction takes place in the **York Room** and viewing on the day of the auction is in the **Warwick Room**; both are accessed by lift to the 2nd floor.

The **Rooms** are a 3-minute walk from the nearest **Underground** station, Holborn (Central and Piccadilly Lines), which is a 40-minute direct journey from Heathrow Airport.

Numerous **buses** from Charing Cross, Euston, King's Cross and Waterloo main line railway stations stop at the junction of Kingsway and Great Queen Street. The nearest covered **car park** is at the corner of Drury Lane and Parker Street, 2 minutes away.



THE BRIAN RITCHIE COLLECTION

The third and final auction of medals of the H.E.I.C. and British India from the Brian Ritchie collection will be held on 23 September 2005. For further details, please contact Nimrod Dix.

In the biographies that follow in the present catalogue, reference is made to certain officers and men whose medals also form part of the Ritchie collection. Where these have already been sold in Part I they will be referenced, e.g. Ritchie 1-123, indicating the lot number in the previous auction; those yet to be sold in Part III will be indicated by a *quod vide* (qv) as before.

ORDERS, DECORATIONS, MEDALS AND MILITARIA GENERAL SALE, WEDNESDAY 2 MARCH, 11.00

The general sale of orders, decorations, medals and militaria, commencing with lot 143 and including medals from the collection of the late Oliver Stirling Lee, will start at 11.00, immediately after the auction of the medals in this catalogue.



The Mahratta War medal to Captain Boyce Combe, 2nd Madras Native Infantry

ARMY OF INDIA 1799-1826, 2 clasps, Asseerghur, Nagpore (Lieut. Boyce Combe, 2nd N.I.) short hyphen reverse, officially impressed naming, *minor nicks and bruises, otherwise very fine* £2500-3000

Ex Hamilton-Smith 1927, Dalrymple White 1946 and Lovell 1977.

Only 48 Asseerghur clasps to Europeans, this combination being unique.

Boyce Combe was the eldest son of Captain Boyce Tree Combe, late H.M.'s 55th, of Gray's Inn, and Anne Gunthorpe, and was baptised aged 5 months at Andover, Hampshire, on 12 August 1785. He entered the Madras Army circa 1800, and was promoted Lieutenant in the 2nd Madras Native Infantry on 20 July 1801. During the Second Mahratta War, he was present with 2/2nd Madras N.I. in Stevenson's force at the Capture of Asseerghur which surrendered on 21 October 1803, after only an hour's bombardment.

Combe was promoted Captain on 31 May 1816, and served during the Third Mahratta War with the 1/2nd Madras N.I. which formed a part of one of the three brigades under Brigadier-General Doveton that reinforced Lieutenant-Colonel Hopetoun Scott's force after the Battle of Seetabuldee and went on to decisively defeat the Bhonsla on 16 December 1817, at Nagpore. Combe married Eliza Margaret, daughter of Thomas Cowan, and died without issue at Cheltenham aged 78 on 5 December 1863.

Ref: Hodson Index (NAM).



The unique Second Mahratta War medal to Major-General Sir Archibald Galloway, K.C.B., Bengal Infantry, later Chairman of the Honourable East India Company, one of only five European recipients of the clasp for the Defence of Delhi

ARMY OF INDIA 1799-1826, 2 clasps, Defence of Delhi, Capture of Deig (Lieut. Archd. Galloway, 14th N.I.) short hyphen reverse, officially impressed naming, very fine and of the highest rarity £10000-12000

Ex Christie's November 1988.

There were only five European recipients of the Defence of Delhi clasp, all with unique clasp combinations:

Sergeant J. Brown, Bengal Artillery - 5 clasps, Allighur, Laswarree, Defence of Delhi, Battle of Deig, Capture of Deig.

Riding Master C. J. Davis, 4th Light Cavalry - 4 clasps, Allighur, Defence of Delhi, Battle of Deig, Capture of Deig.

Lieutenant (later Major-General Sir, K.C.B.) Archibald Galloway, 14th N.I. - 2 clasps, Defence of Delhi, Capture of Deig.

Lieutenant (later Lieutenant-General Sir, K.C.B.) John Rose, 14th N.I. - 3 clasps, Allighur, Battle of Delhi, Defence of Delhi.

Major (later General, C.B.) Edmund F. Waters, 17th N.I., later commanding Dingapore Battalion - 5 clasps, Allighur, Battle of Delhi, Defence of Delhi, Nepaul, Ava.

Archibald Galloway was the son of James Galloway of Perth and Margaret, née Forester, and was baptised on 12 February 1780 at Blairgowrie. He became a Cadet on the Bengal Establishment in 1799 and was appointed Ensign in the 14th Native Infantry on 29 October 1800. He arrived in India aboard the *Lady Jane Dundas* on 8 December of that year and was promoted Lieutenant on 18 May 1802. His first field service was as a volunteer with the 2/4th N.I. during the 'Mud War' in the Jumna Doab where he participated in the actions at Sansi, Bijaigarh and Kachaura.

In September 1804, during the Second Mahratta War, Galloway was present with his parent regiment, the 2/14 Bengal N.I., at Delhi when it was unsuccessfully besieged by Holkar of Indore whose forces outnumbered the defenders by more than ten to one. There were no British regiments present. On 14 September, the seventh day of the investment, Holkar, fearing the approach of the Grand Army under Lord Lake, made a final effort to take the city. 'They opened a tremendous fire from their artillery, upon the whole extent of the walls, upon the gates and breach, and about sun-rise their infantry were seen advancing in large bodies, in various directions, with scaling ladders. They were repulsed in every quarter, and after some ineffectual attempts of their leaders to get them back to the assault, they retreated, leaving their scaling ladders behind. The remainder of this day they were remarkably quiet, and it was suspected that another attempt would be made in the afternoon. As soon as it was dark, however, they commenced silently sending off their heavy guns, and in the course of the night got off with the whole of their baggage, and by keeping their pickets as usual close under the walls till a little before day-break, completely prevented the garrison from having any suspicion of their movement. As soon as it was ascertained, a party was sent out to harass their rear, but they had too much start, and nothing could be done against them.' Lake arrived three days later and Galloway joined the Reserve in the pursuit of Holkar. At the end of October he marched with Lake to the relief of a detachment under Colonel Burn and his Major of Brigade, John Rose (qv), who had been cut off by 20,000 Mahratta horse at Shamli, and at length took part in the deliverance of the detachment from its 'extreme distress.'

From 11 December until Christmas morning 1804, when the fortress fell and the Union flag was planted on the walls, Galloway was engaged in the Siege of Deig. In early January 1805, he arrived with the Grand Army before Bhurtpoor, which the fierce and obstinate Lake, flushed with his string of recent successes, believed would fall in short order despite his deficiency of artillery and lack of sufficiently long scaling ladders. The first assault, made on 9 January, set the tone of the seven week siege and was beaten back. After further ineffectual cannonading, a second assault was planned for the 21st, and in this attack Galloway, leading the Pioneers, was wounded in the windpipe. After two more unsuccessful assaults, Lake conceded defeat on 23 February and marched off next day. Events in Europe meant that Britain could ill afford to be at war with anyone but the French and a peace was arranged soon after with the Rajah of Bhurtpoor and later with Holkar.

In 1807 Galloway was appointed Adjutant and Quartermaster of the 14th N.I. In 1811 he became an examiner in Arabic and Persian at the Company's short-lived College at Fort William. He was promoted Captain on 19 December 1812 and from 1813 to 1821 held the post of agent for the manufacture of gunpowder at Allahabad. He was afterwards the agent for gunpowder at Ichapur until 1829. Having been made Major in 1824, he was transferred to the 29th N.I. (late 2/14 N.I.) and was posted as Lieutenant-Colonel to the 2nd N.I. in 1826. In 1830, during the enlightened Governor-Generalship of Lord William Bentinck, Galloway was appointed a Member of the Military Board. He retired in 1835 and was gazetted Colonel of the 58th N.I. on 22 September 1836. In 1838 he was appointed a Director of the Honourable East India Company and created a Companion of the Bath.

Galloway, who was made Major-General in 1841, was the author of a variety of books on Indian subjects. Most notably he produced *Notes on the Siege of Delhi in 1804* and *On Sieges of India*. The latter became the standard work issued to the Army on the orders of the Marquis of Hastings and was used widely in the Company's military colleges. In 1849 Galloway was made a K.C.B. and the following year became Chairman of the Honourable East India Company.

Sir Archibald, who was thanked for his many and varied services to the Indian Government by 'commanders-in-chief in India on nine different occasions, and by the supreme government of India, or the court of directors, and superior authorities in England on upwards of thirty occasions', died in Upper Harley Street on 6 April 1850 aged 70 years.

Refs: Hodson Index (NAM); Dictionary of National Biography; Officers of the Bengal Army 1758-1834; IOL L/MIL/10/20; IOL L/MIL/10/49; IOL L/MIL/9/257.



The Second Mahratta War and Peninsular campaign pair to Sergeant Alexander Liston, 94th Foot

(a) ARMY OF INDIA 1799-1826, 3 clasps, Asseerghur, Argaum, Gawilghur (Corpl. A. Liston, 94th Foot) short hyphen reverse, officially impressed naming

(b) MILITARY GENERAL SERVICE 1793-1814, 1 clasp, Fuentes d'Onor (Sergeant Alexr. Liston, 94th Foot) rank of 'Sergeant' neatly engraved before name, *scratching to reverse of the second, otherwise very fine and rare* (2)

£4000-5000

Only 48 Asseerghur clasps to European recipients. 38 medals issued with this combination of clasps, of which 33 went to the 94th, just over half of whom also had the MGS medal.

Alexander Liston was born in the Parish of Westchurch, Edinburgh, circa 1775 and enlisted in the 94th Regiment of Foot on 1 December 1793, at the age of nineteen. He served in the Deccan Campaign of 1803 with the '94th Scotch Brigade' being present at the capture of the fort of Asseerghur, Arthur Wellesley's decisive victory over the Mahrattas at Argaum, and the storming of Gawilghur. Liston was promoted to Sergeant during 1806

In May 1811, he was again serving under Wellesley, or Lord Wellington as he had by then become, but this time in the Peninsula and was present on the 5th of that month at the battle of Fuentes d'Onor. Liston was transferred to the 2nd Garrison Battalion in May 1815 and was discharged having been 'worn out in the Service' in October 1816. He was then described as forty-one years of age, five feet eleven inches in height, with brown hair and blue eyes. His trade was given as 'Upholsterer'.

Ref: WO 97/1143.



A rare 4-clasp medal for the Second Mahratta War to Trooper George Loder, 27th Light Dragoons

ARMY OF INDIA 1799-1826, 4 clasps, Allighur, Battle of Delhi, Laswarree, Capture of Deig (G. Loder, 27th Lt. Dragns) short hyphen reverse, officially impressed naming, *extremely fine and rare* £8000-10000

Ex Whitaker 1890.

Only 23 medals issued with 4 clasps, including 14 to British regiments, nine with this combination of clasps.

George Loder, a Labourer, was born in Salisbury, Wiltshire, and enlisted into the 27th Light Dragoons on 29 December 1798, aged 20 years. He was then described as being five foot five and a half inches in height, and possessed a 'fresh complexion, light brown hair' and 'green eyes'. Loder landed in India with the 27th Light Dragoons on 14 October 1800. His regiment, re-numbered as 24th Light Dragoons in 1803, served with Lord Lake's Army during the Second Mahratta War 1803-05. In 1803, George Loder was present at the successful assault on the fortress at Allighur and at the battle of Delhi, on the 4th and 11th of September respectively, at the battle of Laswarree on the 1st of November, and, in the following year, at the capture of the fortress of Deig from 11th-23rd of December. He is recorded as serving with Captain Philpot's Troop and as having been transferred to Hospital on 23rd of September 1803, shortly after the action at Delhi. Loder landed back in England on 13 May 1819 and his regiment was disbanded on the 24th of the same month.

Refs: WO 12/1492; WO 25/305; WO 25/1314; WO 97/1184B.



The exceptional 6-clasp medal for the Second Mahratta War and the campaign in Nepaul to General John Greenstreet, 15th Bengal Native Infantry

ARMY OF INDIA 1799-1826, 6 clasps, Allighur, Battle of Delhi, Laswarree, Battle of Deig, Capture of Deig, Nepaul (Major J. Greenstreet, Commg. 2nd Bn. 15th N.I.) short hyphen reverse, officially impressed naming, together with a contemporary miniature portrait on ivory, the reverse signed 'Edwin Cocking May 1850', two minor edge bruises, otherwise extremely fine and very rare
£15000-20000



Ex Glendining May 1957 and December 1969 (J. J. Barnett Collection). The miniature portrait acquired separately.

Only 2 medals issued with 6 clasps. The other example, with the same combination of clasps was awarded to Captain H. W. C. Smyth of the Engineers, to whom two medals are known; one in the Royal Engineers Museum at Chatham, the other in the Honeyman Collection held by the Los Angeles Museum of Natural History in California. This medal to General Greenstreet is therefore the only 6-clasp medal available to collectors.

John Greenstreet was born in 1781 at Hitchin, Hertfordshire. He was nominated for a Cadetship in the East India Company's Bengal Army in the usual manner by a Director of the H.E.I.Co. John Towson, Esq., and was appointed an Ensign on 22 November 1796. He arrived in India on 4 March 1797, and became Adjutant of the 1/5th Bengal Native Infantry in May 1800. Following service in the 'Mud War' of 1803 in the Jumna Doab, he took part in the Second Mahratta War, serving in the Hindustan Campaign under Lord Lake, his first encounter with the enemy being the skirmish at Coel on 29 August 1803. Thereafter he participated in the storm and capture of Allighur from the Mahrattas commanded by Scindia's French agent General Perron on 4 September; the defeat of the Mahratta forces under General Louis Bourquien in the Battle of Delhi on the 11th of the same month; the storming of the heights at Agra on 17 October; and finally in the Battle of Laswaree on 1 November 1803.

In 1804, after Holkar of Indore, the most powerful of the Mahratta princes, combined forces with the Rajah of Bhurtpoor and took the field, Greenstreet was present, on 13 November of that year, as 'Adjutant and Quartermaster of Brigade' in Monson's victory at the Battle of Dieg, in which encounter his horse was shot under him (*Calcutta Gazette* 6 December 1804). After participation in the capture of the fortress of Dieg on Christmas Day 1804, he took part in the unsuccessful siege of Bhurtpoor from 2 January until 24 February 1805. Following the failure of the third assault on 20 February, Lake harangued his troops and called for volunteers for a fourth and final storm of the breach next day. Such was the loyalty inspired by the fierce old campaigner that every man stepped forward. In the ensuing assault the Sepoys of Greenstreet's battalion, the 2/15th, were to the fore, driving their bayonets into the walls and using the hilts to climb by. But a shower of logs and stones were rolled down on them, and so narrow was the way up over the 'ragged bastion' that musketry fire could be concentrated on the leaders and as one man fell he brought down those below him. There was no hope for the subaltern of the 76th Foot who led the 'forlorn hope' that day. He died with the colours of his regiment in his hands. Greenstreet's battalion 'lost 180 men killed and wounded out of about 400 in the short space of two hours'.

Advanced to the rank of Captain on 10 January 1805, Greenstreet served as Adjutant and Quartermaster until 1806, and in 1809 was appointed A.D.C. to the Vice-President in Council. Returning from a two year furlough in October 1813, he was promoted to the command of the 2/15th and led it during its service with General Marley's 4th (Dinapore) Division in the first two campaigns of the Nepalese War. The division arrived on the Nepal frontier in late 1814, and was warned that several small British detachments watching the river passes from the Nepal hills must be reinforced or withdrawn. Unfortunately Marley was not in the mood for anything adventurous and flapped about throwing up field entrenchments to provide himself with a place of safety. On 1 January 1815 the inevitable happened and the Gurkhas swept down and surprised the outposts of Goor-Pershad and Summudpore, the former of which was held by a detachment of the 2/15th, and it became Greenstreet's unfortunate duty to report its loss:

'I am sorry to acquaint you, that the post of Persa Churrie, commanded by Captain Sibley, was this morning attacked by an overwhelming force of Choorkahs, who, I regret to say, carried their point after one hour's hard fighting, which ended in the repulse of our troops there, the loss of the gun, and every kind of baggage. At break of day, when I was about to march for that post, we heard a heavy firing in that direction, when I pushed on with all possible speed; but within three miles of the place I met a vast number of wounded, and immediately afterwards some officers, who informed me, that any attempt on my part to recover the fortunes of the day must be unavailing, as the enemy's forces was computed at full ten thousand' (*London Gazette* 19 August 1815).

A contemporary, General Sir John Hearsey (see Lot 12), took quite different view, and decades later had this to say: 'Captain Sibley, who commanded at Goor-Pershad, was killed; Lieutenant Mathison escaped wounded, as did Lieutenant Smith of the 15th Native Infantry and other officers; but numbers of the men were killed. The survivors of the cavalry and artillery, after having fired off the last round of ammunition, made their escape. Those who got away crossed a deep but narrow river which partly surrounded their post, and retired towards the main army. This occurred on the morning of the 1st January 1815, beginning the new year rather badly. A regiment, with some artillery, under the command of Major G., had been ordered from the main army to reinforce the detachment at Goor-Pershad. He was near enough to it to hear the firing of the 6-pounder guns; but instead of hurrying on to support it, halted until the fugitives arrived. Then, if he had advanced, he would have surprised the Goorkhas, recovered our prestige and our guns. But no; he thought discretion the better part of valour, and hurried back to General Marley's camp, leaving our wounded and dead in the possession of the enemy, and those alive to be taken and murdered in cold blood.'

Notwithstanding Hearsey's damning indictment, Greenstreet was promoted to the command of the 4th Brigade, Centre Column, in Ochterlony's conclusive campaign of 1816. In the spring of 1815, Ochterlony successfully engaged the Gurkhas near Simla, and in mid April the Gurkha General Amar Thapa, seeing that his position was untenable, capitulated. By the convention that followed the Gurkhas withdrew east of the Kali river, but later the Gurkha government refused to ratify the peace treaty, and Ochterlony was placed in command of a force of 20,000 men, which Greenstreet accompanied in the direct advance on Khatmandu. After severe actions at Muckwampore, in which Greenstreet was present, and Hariharpur, the Gurkha government sued for peace.

From February to March 1817 Greenstreet commanded the 2/15th during operations in the Allighur district and was present at the siege of Rajah Diah Ram's fortress of Hathras, which fell somewhat abruptly when a British shell landed in the potentate's magazine, then containing 48,000 lbs of powder. During the Third Mahratta (Pindary) War, Greenstreet was appointed to the command of the Bengal Brigade of infantry and served in Brigadier-General Doveton's force at the Capture of Asseerghur in April 1819, 'being detached to aid in the operations with fifteen companies of the 15th reg., a squadron of cavalry and train of artillery from the Nagpore field force.' His 'eminent services' at Asseerghur were mentioned by General Doveton in his orders of 10 April (*London Gazette* 30 August 1820).

At the close of the war Greenstreet transferred to the 2/30th N.I. and following the reorganization of the Army in 1824, was placed on the rolls of the 60th N.I. (late 2/30th) as Lieutenant-Colonel Commandant. He retired in 1825 and returned to England where he was promoted to Colonel in June 1829; to Major-General in January 1837; to Lieutenant-General in November 1846; and finally to General on 20 June 1854. General John Greenstreet died, aged 74 years, at Frenchay, near Bristol, on 9 April 1856.

Refs: Hodson Index (NAM); Officers of the Bengal Army 1758-1834; East India Military Calendar; IOL L/MIL/10/2; The Hearseys, Five Generations of an Anglo-Indian Family (Pearse).



A scarce pair for the Capture of Java, the First Burma War and the Siege of Bhurtpoor to Colonel Robert Seymour, Bengal Native Infantry

(a) MILITARY GENERAL SERVICE 1793-1814, 1 clasp, Java (R. Seymour, Lieut. 6th Bengal Vol. Bn.)

(b) ARMY OF INDIA 1799-1826, 2 clasps, Ava, Bhurtpoor (Capt. R. Seymour, 26th N.I.) short hyphen reverse, officially impressed naming, *good very fine and scarce* (2) £3000-3500

A total of 46 M.G.S. medals were issued to officers and men of the E.I.C. service, 16 of whom also received the Army of India medal. Only 13 medals were issued with the combination of Ava and Bhurtpoor, the two most common clasps and yet one of the rarest combinations.

Robert Seymour, the son of Anthony Seymour, merchant, and Ann, née Piding, was born in St Petersburg on 5 December 1789. He arrived in India as an Ensign in 1805 and was posted to the 13th Bengal N.I. Between 1811 and 1816 he did duty with the Bengal Volunteers, comprised of sepoys who had volunteered to serve overseas. In August 1811 he took part in Sir Samuel Auchmuty's successful expedition to Java which secured the last settlement in the East Indies in the possession of the Batavian Republic for the Government of Calcutta.

The following year Lieutenant Seymour served as Commissary of Provisions on the expedition to Palimbang in Sumatra, and in 1813 he was Acting Fort Adjutant and Paymaster at Banca. He returned to his parent regiment and served with the 2nd Battalion during the Third Mahratta War, taking part in the sieges and captures of Mandala and Asseerghur. Promoted Captain while on furlough in 1823, he was transferred in 1824 to the 26th N.I. (late 1/13th N.I.).

During the First Burma War he was 'slightly wounded in action against the enemy' on 27 March 1825 (*London Gazette* 6 October 1825). At the Siege of Bhurtpoor in 1826, he was Major of Brigade, 4th Brigade, 1st Division. The next year he was appointed Brigade Major to the Establishment at Cuttack, and was afterwards appointed D.A.A.G. to the Presidency Division. Posted Lieutenant-Colonel to the 34th N.I. on 10 September 1834, he was transferred successively to the rolls of the 74th N.I., 22nd N.I. and 21st N.I. Seymour retired in 1841 and was made Honorary Colonel in 1854. He died at 8 Crompton Crescent, London, on 3 December 1868.

Refs: Hodson Index (NAM); Officers of the Bengal Army 1758-1834; IOL L/MIL/10/21.



The General Officer's Gold Medal awarded to Lieutenant-General Sir George Wood, K.C.B., 'The Royal Bengal Tiger', commander of the Bengal Division at the Capture of Java

GENERAL OFFICERS' ARMY LARGE GOLD MEDAL, for the capture of Java (Major Genl. George Wood) complete with gold swivel-ring suspension and gold ribbon buckle, *brilliant extremely fine and rare* £15000-20000

A total of 86 General Officers' large gold medals were awarded, including five for the capture of Java.

George Wood, 'known in the Army as The Royal Bengal Tiger', was the third son of Alexander Wood of Burncroft, J.P. and Procurator Fiscal of Perthshire, and Jean, daughter of Robert Ramsay of Banff. Wood was born circa 1752 and admitted to the Honourable East India Company's Service as a 'Country Cadet' on 8 October 1771, four years after Clive's departure from India. In August 1765 the British in Calcutta became masters of Bengal, Bihar and Orissa, under the terms of a famous arrangement known as the Grant of the Diwani by which Shah Alam, the ruler of the disintegrating Mogul empire, assigned to the Company the right to collect revenue in exchange for an annual payment of twenty-six lakhs of rupees (£260,000). With a frontier to defend against troublesome neighbours, it was desirable to form an alliance with the Vizier of Oudh, Shuja-ud-daula, whose territory formed a buffer between the Bengal frontier and the rich tract at base of the Himilayas held by the Rohillas, a loose confederation of Afghan chiefs. In 1772 the Mahrattas, eager to avenge the slaughter inflicted upon them by the Rohilla cavalry at the the Battle of Panipat in 1761, invaded Rohilkhand, devastating the country and making no secret of the fact that they intended to carry the war into Oudh. The Rohillas appealed to the Vizier who in turn appealed to the British, who were honour bound to support the Nawab Vizier against the common Mahratta enemy.

It appears that in late 1772 and early 1773 Cadet Wood accompanied the British Commander-in-Chief, Sir Robert Barker, to a meeting between the Oudh forces and the Rohillas, as a result of which the Mahrattas hastily withdrew. The Vizier then demanded the payment of forty lakhs that the Rohilla captain, Rahmat Khan, had agreed to pay in exchange for military aid, but was unable to raise. Taking advantage of the rift, the Mahrattas seized the initiative and formed an alliance with the Rohillas. The Vizier, having set his sights firmly on annexing Rohilkhand, reiterated his demand for British support and sweetened the pill by offering to pay the costs of war. Warren Hastings, the Governor (or President) at Calcutta, who was shortly to become the first 'Governor-General of all our Indian territories', entered into a treaty with the Vizier at Benares, and, in the spring of 1774, Wood, who had been commissioned Ensign in the 2nd Bengal Europeans on 22 May 1773, entered Rohilkhand with a British force under Colonel Champion, and on St. George's Day, 23 April, 1774, took part in the utter defeat of the Rohillas at Minranpur Katra.

Having described the flight of the Rohillas from the 'Battle of St. George' in his despatch, Champion made plain his opinion of the Vizier and his troops: 'And now came on the after-game of the few horse the Nabob sent to the field. No sooner was the enemy irrecoverably broken than they pushed after them, and got much plunder in money, elephants and camels ... Their camp equipage, which was all standing, and proves we came on them by surprise, with whatever effects they could not carry off, fell a sacrifice to the ravages of the Nabob's people, whilst the Company's troops, in regular order in their ranks, most justly observed, "We have the honour of the day and these banditti the profit."'

Three months later, during the so-called 'depopulation' of Rohilkhand, which in fact amounted to no more than the banishment of some twenty thousand Rohilla Afghans found to be 'in arms' from a population of one million, Wood, according to his own account: 'Was personally detached with a Company of Irregular Infantry to procure grain for the army, which service I performed, though under the most difficult and often perilous situations and circumstances, in so satisfactory and plentiful a manner as to call forth the thanks of the Commander-in-Chief for the zeal and activity I had manifested on this occasion.' He remained in Rohilkhand for two more years and in 1777 was 'employed on survey work'. The following year, having been transferred to the 3rd Europeans, he was placed in command of a detachment 'on the river below Calcutta on various duties', for which he received 'some commendation from the Government'.

Promoted Lieutenant on 19 May 1778, Wood next took the field on the occasion of First Mahratta War in 1780 and, holding the appointment of Staff-Adjutant, was 'present in the trenches at the siege and capture, by storm, of Fort Lohar'. He was then appointed A.D.C. to Major William Popham and took part in the capture 'by surprise and escalade' of the Fortress at Gwalior on 3 August, which being 'hitherto esteemed impregnable' was one of the outstanding feats of the war. Early the next year he was present with Lieutenant-Colonel John Carnac's force at the capture of Sipri and on 15 February 1781 was appointed Assistant Quarter-Master-General to that detachment. Wood's autobiographical sketch continues: '1781 to 1782. Was employed in the province of Malwah, the whole of the campaign being most arduous and interesting, as though on our advance we had only about 15,000 Mahratta horse with some rocket men opposing us, yet before it was concluded, Scindia with his whole army had joined against us, comprising by his own account 60,000 cavalry of different descriptions, including 12,000 Pindaries, with a train of artillery and three battalions of regulars under French officers, armed, clothed and disciplined after our manner.' Owing to the imperilled predicament of the Madras Presidency, however, from a more dangerous adversary, Hyder Ali of Mysore, operations in the north were hastily brought to a close in May 1782, and a peace concluded by which the British surrendered their territorial gains.

On 14 January 1784 Wood was promoted Captain and later in the year appointed Assistant Quarter-Master General to the force which accompanied Governor-General Warren Hastings to Lucknow to recover monies owed to the British by Shuja-ud-daula's weak and self-indulgent successor Asaf-ud-daula. Wood's daughter, Mrs Montagu, states in her privately published *Memorials of the Family of Wood of Largo* (1863) that between her father 'and Warren Hastings there appears to have existed a personal friendship' and supports this by saying that when Hastings was impeached, 'and apprehended difficulty in regard to meeting the heavy expenses of his trial in England, our father proposed that his friends and adherents in Bengal should make a subscription for his aid, offering on his own part, I think, a considerable sum, but his proposal was not responded to.'

In July 1787, Wood was serving with the 2nd Battalion Sepoys, and following ten years service at stations in the Lower, Upper and Central Provinces of Bengal was promoted Major on 30 October 1797. In July of the following year he was serving with the 2/6th Native Infantry, and in 1798-99 was present with 'the army under Sir James Craig when the Shah of Cabul was threatening to invade Hindostan'. Advanced to Lieutenant-Colonel on 29 May 1800, Wood was next actively employed during the closing stages of the Second Mahratta War: '1804 to 1807. Was employed with my battalion [2/19th Native Infantry] for the cover of Mirzapore during the latter part of the Mahratta war, and in expelling the inroad of a predatory force which came through the Rewah passes in 1806.' Wood was promoted Lieutenant-Colonel Commandant on 27 September 1807, and on 25 April 1808 was made Colonel. From 1808 to 1810 he was on furlough in Europe.

In 1811 the eastern repercussions of the Napoleonic Wars obliged the then Governor-General, Lord Minto, to mount an expedition for the capture of Java from some 20,000 troops under the French General Jansens. On 4 June of that year Wood was appointed Major-General and given command of the Bengal Division forming part of the 12,000-strong expeditionary force which landed at Chillinching on 4 August. On the 10th the enemy was driven from Weltevreden back into an entrenched position on the heights of Meester Cornelis. On the morning of the 26th the British assault went in, and, after a number of redoubts had been captured at bayonet point, the enemy was completely defeated. Wood's eldest brother Sir Mark Wood, Bart., writing from his house in Pall Mall in 1815, told the Earl of Buckinghamshire in a resumé of George's military career that in consequence of 'his gallant conduct at the capture of Java, the Prince Regent was pleased to testify his approbation, and to honour him with the medal of a general officer'.

Minto was succeeded by the Prince Regent's 'monkey-faced friend' Lord Moira and on 1 November 1814 he declared war on the Gurkhas in order to halt their encroachments into northern India. Wood evidently appealed to the Governor-General expressing his desire for a command in Nepal, but was at first disappointed although Moira told him: 'Let me assure you that your character is too well known to me for it to be possible that I should not have you in contemplation when I look forward to staff appointments'. The war then started without him and four British columns attempted to advance into Gurkha territory. The 4th (Dinapore) Division was commanded Major-General Bennet Marley, who advanced into Nepal unopposed and dithered to a halt with three widely separated outposts flung far out in front. The Gurkhas swept down and wiped out all three in one blow. This put the wind up Marley who perceiving a small Gurkha force making straight for him, ordered a retreat 'to defend the Company's territory'. Next, his nerve broke and at the dead of night on 19 February 1815 he crept away without breathing a word to anyone. Moira, meanwhile, furious at the recent reverses, had despatched Wood from the Presidency to supersede Marley. He arrived on the 20th.

Contrary to the expectations of the division, Wood was against a direct advance on Khatmandu as a board of medical officers had decreed that the risk of 'the malarial fever called aul' was too great. Instead, according to his own grand statement, he 'swept the whole of the Eastern Ghorka territory, destroying several stockades,' though in reality this was no more than a futile demonstration along the the frontier. After a month on the march he reached the Teesta River and here ordered the grumbling 4th Division to turn about and go into quarters for the rains at Nathpore on Kosi River, where malaria carried off a good portion of his men during the summer. With the exception of Major-General Ochterlony operating in the north west provinces of Nepal, Wood and the other divisional commanders were criticized for their over caution in the campaign of 1815, and Wood was himself superseded on Moira's orders. Mrs Montagu defended her father by maintaining no one but a mad man would enter the unhealthy country of Nepal and that he had done the Army a great service by operating solely on the frontier. Major-General Hearsey (Lot xxx), who served under Wood as a Lieutenant with Gardener's Horse, was less charitable and called him 'this disagreeable and incapable old General'. The war was concluded in a third campaign in 1816 with Ochterlony in command of the whole show. He made a rapid advance on Khatmandu which resulted in the Gurkhas signing the treaty which remained unbroken up to Indian Independence in 1947.

On 7 April 1815 Wood was created a Knight Commander of the Bath, and from 1816 to 1819 took leave in the Cape. He continued on furlough in 1819, and, returning to his property Ottershaw Park in Surrey, was made Lieutenant-General in July 1821. 'The Royal Bengal Tiger' was thrown from his horse while riding over his estate at Ottershaw and sustained injuries from which he never fully recovered. He died several months later at his house in Clifford Street, London, on 1 March 1824, leaving a fortune of twenty lakhs.

Refs: Officers of the Bengal Army, 1758-1834 (Hodson); *Memorials of the Family of Wood of Largo* (Mrs Montagu).



The Third Mahratta War medal for the battle of Kirkee to Sepoy Nadir Rai, 12th Bombay Native Infantry

ARMY OF INDIA 1799-1826, 1 clasp, Kirkee (Sepoy Nadir Rai, 12th Bombay Native Infantry) short hyphen reverse, naming engraved in running script, *nearly very fine and rare* £2000-2500

The 1-12th Bombay Native Infantry was present at the battle of Kirkee, 5 November 1817, and have Kirkee as a battle honour. They subsequently became the 23rd Regiment (2nd Rifle Regiment) Bombay Infantry, in 1903 changed to 123rd Outram's Rifles, and in 1922 to 4-6th Rajputana Rifles (Outram's).



The Third Mahratta War medal for the battle of Kirkee and capture of Poona to Private Joshua Foxwell, 103rd Bombay European Regiment

ARMY OF INDIA 1799-1826, 1 clasp, Kirkee and Poona (Joshua Foxwell, Eur. Regt.) short hyphen reverse, officially impressed naming, *nearly extremely fine* £2500-3000

Approximately 88 clasps to European recipients, including 45 to the 103rd Bombay European Regiment (later 2nd Battalion The Royal Dublin Fusiliers).

Joshua Foxwell, enlisted in Middlesex in 1816 and arrived in India aboard the *Calabar* on 16 May that year to join the Bombay European Regiment. Shortly before the outbreak of the Third Mahratta (Pindarry) War, the Bombay Europeans made a forced march to strengthen the handful of imperiled Company troops with Mounstuart Elphinstone at Poona. On 5 November 1817 the combined force numbering only 3,000 defeated the 26,000-strong army of the Peshwa at Kirkee and, having been reinforced by troops under Brigadier-General Lionel Smith, went on to take part in the capture of Poona. Although originally contracted for five years service, Foxwell re-enlisted on the completion of his original term. The date of his last enlistment is given as 27 September 1828. He was pensioned on 18 December 1837.

Ref: IOL L/MIL/12/109.



The Third Mahratta War medal for the capture of Poona to Lieutenant-Colonel S. R. Warren, 65th Foot, who had distinguished service in various expeditions against the pirates of the Persian Gulf

ARMY OF INDIA 1799-1826, 1 clasp, Poona (Lieut. S. R. Warren, Brig. Major) short hyphen reverse, officially impressed naming, fitted with silver ribbon buckle, damage to obverse rim at 3 o'clock and several small edge bruises, otherwise very fine and rare £3000-4000

A total of 69 clasps issued to European recipients for the capture of Poona, including 42 to the 65th Foot.

Samuel Robinson Warren was commissioned Ensign in H.M.'s 65th Foot and joined headquarters in India in 1808. In 1809 the Bombay Government authorized an expedition to the Persian Gulf to assist the Iman of Muscat in the suppression of the piratical activities of the maritime Joasmi Arabs who, subscribing to the beliefs of the religious reformer Abdul-ul-Wahab (The Bestower of Blessings), and operating from Ras-el-Khima on the narrow peninsula to the west of the Ruus-al-Jibal promontory, were terrorizing the western coast of India. The expedition consisted of two Royal Navy ships and nine Company cruisers. The troops embarked were the 65th Regiment, the flank companies of H.M.'s 47th Regiment, a detachment of Bombay Artillery, and about a thousand sepoy Volunteers, the whole under the command of Lieutenant-Colonel Lionel Smith of the 65th. The expeditionary force arrived off Muscat on 13 October 1809, and after a few days sailed on and anchored two miles off Ras-el-Khima on 11 November. The enemy's strength was estimated at about 5,000, and after a preliminary naval bombardment, the troops were landed in the early hours of the 13th. The attack went in at daybreak and 'by 1.30 pm the British flag was hoisted over the Sheikh's house, and the town, after considerable fighting, was in our possession. The losses of the enemy numbered upwards of three hundred killed and wounded.' British losses amounted to one officer killed and twenty-one officers and other ranks wounded.

In the afternoon the sailors set fire to some fifty pirate vessels, and everything of value was removed from the town prior to it being put to the torch. The withdrawal of the troops was carried out in the small hours of the 14th and coincided with the arrival of enemy reinforcements from the interior who assembled on the shore, and fired their muskets wildly after the departing raiders. The expedition proceeded to Lingeh, a flourishing Joasmi port on the northern side of Qishm. The inhabitants fled to the hills and the town was occupied and burned. The greater part of the force was then sent about forty miles west of Muscat to gather supplies from Barkah. Meanwhile, Ensign Warren with a half company of the 65th proceeded aboard H.M.S. *Chiffone* to Laft, a port on the northern side of Qishm. They arrived on the 26th and after twenty-four hours of fruitless negotiation the troops were landed. 'Here considerable opposition was met with before the enemy finally surrendered, the total casualties on the British side amounting to eleven killed and fifty-five wounded, and of these one sergeant and two men of the 65th detachment were killed and Ensign S. R. Warren, one sergeant and six rank and file were wounded. Lieut.-Colonel L. Smith was so pleased with the behaviour of this half company that he presented a "Certificate of Merit" to each of the survivors - a sergeant, a corporal and fifteen private soldiers.'

From Laft the detachment rejoined the main force at Barkah and sailed on to Muscat. A Bombay newspaper of 6 January 1810 reported: 'While the armament was lying at Muscat on its return from the expedition against the pirates, the Imaum paid a visit to H.M.'s ship *Chiffone* and was entertained with fruits, sweetmeats and sherbet, the juice of the grape being excluded in deference to his religious prejudices. The ship was dressed on the occasion with the Colours of different nations and delighted His Highness by her beautiful appearance. Captain Wainwright presented him with a picture of Lord Nelson, which he graciously accepted. After having been gratified with the attentions shown him on board H.M.'s ship, he went on shore to a small bay where Lieut.-Colonel Smith had prepared a mortar and howitzer, from which shells were thrown that greatly excited his astonishment.' Notwithstanding his wound, Warren next went with the expedition, now accompanied by the Iman and 2,000 of his troops, to the fort of Shanah on 24 December.

On 1 January 1810, following the refusal of the Wahabi chief, in possession of Shanas, to evacuate the fort, a bombardment was opened. On the 3rd, the chief was offered another opportunity to surrender but again declined, and accordingly Colonel Smith attacked and the fort was taken by storm. British losses were small, one man killed and eleven wounded, the Wahabis on the other hand suffered over a thousand casualties. On 5 January, the troops were re-embarked and, having called in at various ports to destroy more 'piratical craft', returned to Muscat.

Following the return to Bombay, Warren was next employed with his regiment in the 5th Brigade under Colonel Smith, who acted as Brigadier, in the capture of Mauritius. The French forces occupying the island capitulated after a half-hearted defence in early December, and the regiment sailed for Bombay under convoy of the *Chlorinde*. In the cold weather of 1811, the 65th were ordered to form a part of an expeditionary force directed against the chief of Navangar, a town on the southeast coast of the Gulf of Kutch in Kathiawar, who had rebelled against his overlord the Gaikwar of Baroda. Navangar was reached on 21 February 1812 and Warren, now a Lieutenant serving in a specially formed Light Battalion, took part in its capture after some desultory skirmishing. In 1815, there was further trouble in the State of Kathiawar and the 65th, again accompanied by the flank companies of the 47th and four battalions of native infantry, were despatched to punish the rebels. During these operations, Warren was present at the capture of Anja which was taken before advancing on the capital, Bhuj, and destroying several piratical ports on the eastern coast of Kathiawar in early 1816.

At the close of the year the 65th relieved the 56th Regiment which had been ordered home in the Deccan, and spent the next few months in search of Trimbuckjee, a follower of the Peshwa who, having been imprisoned by the British for murder, had escaped and was now thought to be assembling troops in the Mahadeo Hills. In October 1817, shortly before the start of the war against the Pindaries, the 65th Regiment was encamped at Surur, forty miles northeast of Poona, and was accordingly employed under Lord Moira's plan of campaign in the 1st Brigade, commanded by Lieutenant-Colonel Colin Milnes (qv), a former C.O. of the 65th, in the 4th Poona Division, under Brigadier-General Lionel Smith, the whole being encompassed in the Army of the Deccan. Warren was appointed Major of Brigade to Colonel Milnes whose brigade, along with the rest of the Poona Division, reinforced Colonel C. B. Burr on 13 November after the Battle of Kirkee. On the 15th, the left wing of the division under Milnes fought its way across the Mutha Mule River and the next day linked up with the rest of Smith's force, for the capture of Poona which was completed by the 17th. Thereafter Warren took part in the pursuit of the Peshwa, marching in excess of two thousand miles during 'this very trying, difficult and long protracted campaign'. Warren continued as Brigade Major and next served, in early 1819, in the force formed under Major-General Sir W. Kier Grant at Anja for further service in Kutch. On 26 March Kier Grant's expedition was attacked as it pitched camp before Bhuj. The enemy, however, was quickly driven back and the guns in the fort of Bhuj which protected the capital were silenced as a preliminary to the successful assault by escalade next day.

Later the same year, the Bombay Government resolved to take decisive action to extinguish piracy in the Gulf and mounted another expedition against the Joasmi. Keir Grant was placed in overall command of the expedition numbering 1645 Europeans and 1424 natives, whose transports were convoyed by H.M. Ships *Eden*, *Liverpool* and *Curlew*. The 65th, with whom Warren was now serving as a regimental officer, embarked with the 1st Division on 30 October 1819 and sailed with the General on 3 November. The sighting of a pirate fleet of sixty-four sail cruising off Kutch and reports of thirty-five Joasmi ships off the coast of Materan and Sind confirmed the fact that the expedition had been mounted none too soon. On 17 November, the expedition assembled at Qishm where an audience was sought with the Iman of Muscat who promised his co-operation in the forthcoming endeavour. On the 25th, Kier Grant in the *Liverpool* set out to reconnoitre Ras-el-Khima and a few days later called up the transports. At 4:00 am on 3 December the 1st Division made an unopposed landing two miles southeast of the town and next morning dislodged the enemy from a bank 900 yards from the outer fort. On the night of the 5th, a battery of four guns, with a mortar battery on its right, and a trench for the protection of the covering party, was established only three hundred yards from the fort's southernmost tower.

Next day a bombardment was opened from the position. The *Liverpool* also opened on the town but found the distance too great to have much effect. At 8:00 pm, the Joasmi made a sally on the entrenchment, an account of which later appeared in the *United Service Journal* of 1829 (Part 1, p.713): 'The firing had terminated for the day, the men had been relieved, silence reigned in the batteries, the night was very dark, and the picquets as usual were on the alert. About one, a dark object like a large black dog, was seen creeping along on all fours, several similar objects following. The advanced picquets were instantly cut down; all was hurry, shout and bustle. The trenches were filling with a large party of Arabs, engaged in close contest with our men, who were speared and stabbed in a twinkling. Already the Arabs had succeeded in dragging away a howitzer in triumph. The alarm spread like wild fire through the trenches. A party, under Major Warren [this officer was Maj Nathaniel Warren], instantly advanced in double-quick time, attacked the assailants, drove them out of the trench and re-captured the howitzer. A desperate conflict ensued; the Arabs fought like furies, but they were soon bayoneted; nearly all of them, ninety in number, were found lying in the trenches. They had divested themselves of their upper garments to facilitate their onset, and if we mistake not, their bodies seemed anointed with oil.'

The bombardment was resumed on the 7th and by sunset the enemy's position in the southernmost tower was reported untenable and the breaches were nearly practicable. By 8:00 a.m. next day, the breaches were completed and the troops moved forward. But to their surprise they entered the town without firing a shot; the Arabs had evacuated during the night. The Wahabi's now realising the pointlessness of further resistance sent in their submission from all quarters. All, that is, except for Hussain-Ben-Ali, the Wahabi chief of a post called Rams, six miles to the northeast, who with four hundred adherents had taken refuge in the hill-fort of Dhayah situated at the head of a creek two miles from the coast. A detachment, consisting of the 65th Regiment, the flank companies of a Bombay Native Infantry regiment, and thirty artillerymen with two 12-pounders, two mortars and four field guns, was formed under Major N. Warren, with Lieutenant S. R. Warren acting as Adjutant, and having embarked at Ras-el-Khima, landed on the 18th, 'with considerable difficulty and risk, owing to the heavy surf that beat on the shore', within four miles of Dhayah.

Having made contact with the enemy that afternoon, two days were spent bringing up the guns and encircling the town in order to cut off any possible escape routes, and by the morning of the 21st, Major Warren was ready to make his assault. The Major afterwards reported: 'Aware, however, that the families of the enemy were all still in the town, and humanity dictating that some effort should be made to save the innocent from the fate that awaited the guilty, an opportunity was afforded for that purpose by an offer to the garrison of security to their women and children, should they be sent out within the hour; but the infatuated chief, either from an idea that his fort on the hill was not to be reached by our shot, or with the vain hope to gain by procrastination, returning no answer to our communication, while he detained our messenger, we opened fire at half-past eight in the morning, and, such was the precision of the practice, that by half-past ten, perceiving the breach would soon be practicable, I was in the act of issuing the necessary orders for the assault, when a white flag was displayed; and the enemy, after some little delay in assembling from the different quarters of the place, marched out with their arms, with Hossein Ben Ally at their head, to the number of 398; and at half past one p.m. the British flags were hoisted on the Sheikh's house. The women and children, to the number of 400, were at the same time collected together in a place of security, and, I am happy to say, without a single instance of either injury or insult to their persons or feelings having occurred...'

In concluding his report the Major wrote, 'To Lieuts. Place and Warren, the former acting quartermaster and the latter acting adjutant to the detachment, I have likewise had the occasion to express my obligation for their attention and alacrity in the performance of their duties...' The detachment returned to Ras-el-Khima on 26 December, and, having visited and destroyed forts at several other places, sailed with the rest of expedition for Bombay which was reached by the first of their ships on 8 March 1820.

In 1822, the 65th Regiment was ordered home after nearly twenty-two years on foreign service and the following year was granted 'the figure of the Royal Tiger' to be borne on its Colours and the Battle Honours INDIA and ARABIA. Promoted Captain in 1823, Warren spent the next six years stationed at various places in England, Scotland and Ireland, and, in 1829, he sailed with the regiment once more on foreign service, this time to Barbados.

Warren served in the West Indies for many years as Military Secretary to Sir Lionel Smith, and finally retired from the service, owing to ill-health, in 1847, then being Deputy Quarter-Master General at Jamaica. He subsequently held the appointment of Barrack-Master at Windsor until his death in 1857.

Refs: Hart's Army List; East India Military Letters; The York and Lancaster Regiment, 1758-1919, Vol I (Wylly).



The rare Third Mahratta War medal for the battle of Seetabuldee to Sowar Prosad Singh, 6th Bengal Cavalry, whose regiment was highly distinguished in the battle

ARMY OF INDIA 1799-1826, 1 clasp, Seetabuldee (Prosad Sing, 6th Cavalry) short hyphen reverse, impressed naming, *minor edge bruising, otherwise very fine and very rare* £3000-3500

Ex Glendining in February 1901 (£20) and October 1981 (£2000).

The rare clasp for Seetabuldee was awarded to only three European recipients and only three or four examples have been recorded to Indian recipients.



The outstanding K.C.B. group to Lieutenant-General Sir John Bennet Hearsey, 6th Bengal Light Cavalry, dangerously wounded at Seetabuldee and again at Bhurtpoor, who later commanded a cavalry division at Goojerat, and was in command at Barrackpore when the Mangal Pandey incident signalled the beginning of the mutiny in 1857

(a) THE MOST HONOURABLE ORDER OF THE BATH (Military) K.C.B., Knight Commander's set of insignia, comprising neck badge, 22 carat gold and enamels, hallmarked London 1814 though date letter a little indistinct, maker's mark IE; and breast star, silver, gold and enamels, the reverse plate inscribed Widdowson & Veale, Goldsmiths, 73 Strand, London, fitted with gold pin for wearing, the badge with a few chips and flakes to enamels

(b) ARMY OF INDIA 1799-1826, 3 clasps, Nepaul, Seetabuldee & Nagpore, Bhurtpoor (Capt. J. B. Hearsey, 6th Cavy.) short hyphen reverse, officially engraved naming

(c) PUNJAB 1848-49, 2 clasps, Chilianwala, Goojerat (Brigr. J. B. Hearsey, 4th Cavy. Brig. Bengal Army) both medals cleaned and lacquered, edge nicks and bruises, generally nearly very fine (4) £10000-12000

Ex Glendining, March 1951 (Army of India only) and subsequently reunited with the Punjab medal. The K.C.B. set has since been added for display purposes.

Only 19 clasps for Seetabuldee & Nagpore issued to European recipients, although it is hard to understand why Hearsey did not have the clasp for Seetabuldee alone given that he was dangerously wounded there and took no part in the action at Nagpore. This combination of clasps is unique.

John Bennet Hearsey, the scion of a colourful Anglo-Indian family, was born on 21 September 1793, at Midnapore, Orissa, where his father, Lieutenant-Colonel Andrew Wilson Hearsey, commanded the Gullasir Ka Pulton (the 9th Bengal Native Infantry). John Hearsey was steeled by the vicissitudes of fate early in life. At the age of three he was sent to England to board in Kennington with his grandmother and aunt who showed him neither 'kindness or protection'. His father died penniless in 1798, having paid heavy sums to release a relation from the debtors jail in Calcutta, with the result that his mother was left with a paltry income of £80 a year from the Lord Clive Fund. From the age of five Hearsey was educated at the Old Manor House School for Boys in Kennington and there was abused under the harsh regime of a sadistic principal and his maladjusted assistants. However, when in his twilight years Hearsey dictated his memoirs to his daughter, he reflected, 'Perhaps the hardships I underwent did me a good turn, for undeniably I became very hardy'. At the age of nine Hearsey played truant to attend the execution at Horsemonger Lane Jail of one Colonel Despard who was to be hanged, drawn and quartered for treason. Hearsey recalled, 'I was there early, but was soon surrounded by a crowd, knocked and pushed about. I lost my cap, my clothes were all torn, and, with many bruises, I was thankful to find my way back to school.'

His mother's arrival from India after a long and perilous voyage set his upbringing upon a more conventional course, and in late 1803 he moved with her to Portman Place where his education was directed by a succession of private tutors. In 1806 a family connection procured for Hearsey a civil appointment in the Bengal Presidency, but as his mother could not afford to send him to Haileybury, she was obliged to decline the offer. A cavalry Cadetship was accepted instead and Hearsey sailed in the Indiaman *Sovereign* with a convoy under Royal Navy protection. He so enjoyed the voyage that he could not be kept from climbing the masts. The captain, fearing an accident, ordered his sailors to tie him to the yards but this failed to deter him, for next day he was seen capping the main-mast.

Hearsey was met at Fort William by an old friend of his father's, Surgeon Phillips, and remained three weeks his guest until joining the infamous Cadet College at Baraset in October 1807. He spent his days at sport and his evenings with rare diligence studying Urdu. 'I was often disturbed by the young men who saw me thus employed. They threw clods into my room, which frequently hit me or my *moonshi*, or broke the shade of my lamp and put out the light ... One night being disturbed in this manner, I ran hastily to the open Venetian window and caught a glimpse of one of the cadets endeavouring to hide himself ... About two minutes later ... a young man came smiling in, saying, "So, as usual, you are studying at night." In him I recognised the offender, and seizing the thick quarto volume of *W. Gilchrist's Dictionary*, I rose from my chair and struck him down with it, telling him to quit my room, and that I should be ready to give him satisfaction due from one gentleman to another on the morrow. He never called upon me ...'

Having qualified in Urdu in just eight months, in June 1808, Hearsey received 120 rupees from the Government and was presented with a sword. Commissioned on 14 September 1808, he put money towards the cost of his Cornet's uniform and the hire of servants and the *budgerow* in which he would to travel up the Ganges to join the 8th Bengal Light Cavalry at Muttra. Surgeon Phillips, however, prevailed on him to defray the expense of the journey by sharing it with a young Scotsman of his acquaintance. Hearsey felt 'he could not say nay' though disliked the man forced upon him whom he knew to be 'of morose and unhappy temper' and who having spent a year and a half at Baraset (the maximum time allowed) was joining his regiment on a 'stupid certificate'. The journey was a catalogue of disasters. Hearsey rescued the native crew of another vessel which sank in the river during a storm and received nothing but insults for his troubles. The dullard Scotsman showed his bad temper by beating up the servants, and at length they absconded with Hearsey's watch and money. After further travails, Hearsey finally reached Lucknow where he stayed with his eldest sister and her husband, Captain Paris Bradshaw, before continuing to Muttra.

When crossing the Jumna at Agra he met by chance the Khanum Zuhur-ul-Nissa, Princess of Cambay, his future mother-in-law and the wife of his kinsman, Major Hyder Young (Jung) Hearsey. Despite his unusual name, Hyder was 'a loyal and devoted servant of King George' though he spent much of his early career in native service and had several disagreements with British officials. He had been the ward of Hearsey's father, and through his influence begun his military career as an A.D.C. to Saadur Ali Khan, the last Nawab Vizier of Oudh, and later entered the Mahratta service under the French adventurer General Perron. John and Hyder became fast friends and spent several sick leaves together, shooting big game whilst nursing one or other back to full health.

Shortly after Hearsey's arrival at Muttra the 8th Cavalry were ordered on the triennial relief to Cawnpore, but soon after their arrival at the latter place Hearsey was posted to the 6th Light Cavalry who were under orders to join a force under General Martindale which was to act against the Pindarry chief Amir Khan who, supported by Holkar and Scindia, was plundering the Nagpore territory around the Bhonsla's capital. Promoted Lieutenant on 1 November 1809, Hearsey joined the latter corps in December 1809, but any hopes of active service were quickly dashed when at the approach of Martindale's force Amir Khan retreated into Rajputana and the Bengal regiments of his force went into a standing camp at Tehree in Bundelkhund, where the 6th Light Cavalry remained until May 1811.

The 6th L.C. spent the next few years at Muttra where Hearsey fought a duel with an officer generally regarded to be a 'bully' and 'a dangerous man'. Hearsey shot him in the thigh and in turn received congratulations and, for form's sake, a mild reprimand. In 1813 Hearsey was employed by his brother-in-law, Bradshaw, surveying the malaria country of the Terai. After a bout of illness contracted in those parts, Hearsey received permission to rejoin Bradshaw and the force under his command which consisted of one regiment of Native Infantry, a company of the 14th N.I. and 150 men of Gardner's Police Horse (later 2nd Lancers (Gardner's Horse)), which had been raised by Hyder Hearsey's brother-in-law, Colonel William Linnaeus Gardner) on the Nepal Frontier at Gora-Saran, which with his customary misfortune he reached having been robbed of his clothes and having been 'very much hurt' when his horse fell down a well. Once recovered, Hearsey took command of the detachment of Gardner's Horse and was thus employed when Lord Moira declared war on the Gurkhas.

On 16 October 1814 Hearsey, under Bradshaw's orders, took part in a successful dawn attack on a body of Gurkhas at Barharwa on the Baramatti River, and afterwards led the pursuit of the garrison of Crotsar-Bhonga fort who were charged on the far bank of river and taken prisoner. Detachments were left as outposts and Hearsey returned with Bradshaw to meet the 4th (Dinapore) Division under Major-General Bennet Marley. Bradshaw explained all that had passed and that the outposts must be reinforced or withdrawn. Unfortunately Marley's main concern was throwing up an entrenchment around his camp, and Gurkhas, swiftly recovering, swept down on the outposts and wiped them out on 1 January 1815, 'beginning the new year', as Hearsey put it, 'rather badly'.

He continued: 'The moment I heard of these disasters I got permission from Major Bradshaw to go myself, with forty men of my Police Horse, to Goor Pershad in order to look for and rescue any of the wounded or runaways who might have hidden themselves and bring them into camp. I felt my way there and found the enemy had retired with our captured guns and such as they had been able to collect, together with the tents and baggage. I did manage to bring some severely wounded men into camp, and to cover the retreat of those who had escaped ... I also brought in the bodies of Major Sibley and others who had fallen ...'

These unhappy events, when reported to Lord Moira, roused his anger, and he directed General Marley to be superseded, and General George Wood [see Lot 7], commonly known by the sobriquet of the Royal Bengal Tiger, took command.'

Early on the morning of 19 February, Captain Pickersgill was out patrolling with a small escort not far from Marley's camp when he came upon the village of Pirazee which was occupied by the enemy's infantry. The Gurkhas immediately moved out to attack him, and, while at breakfast, Hearsey, Bradshaw and others, suddenly heard the sound of firing. Marley was sought but could not be found as he had absconded during the night. Colonel Dick ordered the picquets to move to the front and sent Hearsey with the Police to Pickersgill's immediate support. Hearsey, on arriving at the scene of the fight, found that his horses were sinking up to their knees in marshy ground and was forced to retire under flights of arrows and musketry. He reformed his line on more suitable ground and charged, breaking the Gurkhas and driving them into the village. He then decided to withdraw his men to a new position with the idea of cutting off the Gurkhas' retreat if they bolted or were driven out by the approaching infantry. Hearsey ordered his kettledrummer to make the appropriate noises to reform but was rejoined by only some thirty or forty men out of 120, the rest being detained by staff officers who had just ridden up.

In his new position: 'The enemy seemed about 500 in number and I advanced and attacked them. I and my standard-bearer, Dilower Khan, dashed in amongst them. The remainder of my men pulled up and went to the flank of the retreating enemy, leaving us two amongst them; but we, pushing on, rode down many and used our swords with some effect. In parrying a bayonet thrust the blade of my sword fell out of the handle, the rivet having given way. At this moment one of the enemy was in the act of giving me a severe blow with his sword. I threw the handle of my sword straight in his face, which saved me. Another man stepped aside and shot me with an arrow: the point of it stuck into the wooden knob of my silk sash and split it in two, wounding me slightly in the abdomen. A third man placed the muzzle of his musket close to my ribs and pulled the trigger. Luckily for me, in those days percussion caps had not been invented. The musket had a flint lock, the powder in the pan was moist, and instead of immediately exploding, it burnt like wildfire. This startled my horse, and it shied. The bullet and powder blew the point of the arrow out of my side and set fire to my sash and clothes. The muzzle of the musket had been turned slightly through the movement of my horse; in this way both the standard-bearer and myself forced our way through the retreating mass. We each received three slight wounds, and our horses were also slightly wounded.'

For his services in this affair Hearsey received the thanks of Colonel Dick in Army Orders, and Dilower Khan was promoted by Hearsey to Duffadar-Major. On the advent of Wood, who arrived next day, the force fully expected to advance direct on Khatmandu but fear of fever resulted in a movement south east along the borders of the Terai to the frontier of Purneah. Several stockades were destroyed and the Gurkhas retreated into the hills. There was no road so one had to be cut for the guns and carts by the pioneers through high grass and jungle, and laid over bogs and the steep banks of mountain streams. Hearsey was given the tiresome job of keeping it clear of camp followers and their numerous elephants, camels and bullocks, and for several days he was never out of uniform. Progress was dreadfully slow. In March the column came upon a defended stockade but Wood refused to attack it despite Hearsey's pleas to do so. He said of this period, 'I had all the arduous duties of baggage master to perform, and this disagreeable and incapable old General would not even enter my name in orders as "baggage-master" to increase my Cornet's allowance of pay.'

At the end of this most unsatisfactory campaign, Hearsey, finding himself superfluous to Bradshaw who had a new assistant, rejoined his regiment at Keeta in Bundelkhund in June 1815. The following month he was appointed Adjutant of his corps 'in consideration of his recent and gallant services on Nepal Frontier'; his predecessor having been 'seized with fever and died raving mad in three days'. Having raised a fourth squadron of his regiment, Hearsey himself suffered a severe bout of fever and nearly died, but after a lengthy convalescence shooting big game with Hyder Hearsey, he rejoined his corps on the Nagpore frontier where Pindarry bands were laying waste the country. 'The cruelties these wretches perpetrated on the inhabitants were indeed most barbarous:' Hearsey recalled, 'men were tarred, had cotton wound round their fingers, and the hand dipped in oil, and then set alight, to make them disclose where they had hidden their money or valuables. One finger was ignited at a time ... The women and girls were maltreated, and many of them threw themselves down into wells to avoid being dishonoured.'

In May 1817 Hearsey was sent with three troops of his regiment under Colonel Gahan to the temporary cantonment at Telingkeri, about four miles from the British Residency at Nagpore, where they joined an infantry brigade from Madras, under Colonel Hopetoun Scott, and a small detachment of Madras Artillery. Soon after their arrival the monsoon began and fever became rife. At the end of September Gahan was ordered to take command of a brigade at Hoshangabad, leaving Captain Charles Fitzgerald (Ritchie 1-36) in command of the 6th Light Cavalry. The men by this time were in such a poor state of health that Scott ordered a change of ground to a new camp near the gardens of the Bhonsla. At the end of October orders were received that the garrison would move out and encamp at different places on the Nagpore frontier to prevent further Pindarry incursions. But when Scott's force returned to Telingkeri with this intention, the British Resident, Richard Jenkins (see Lot 13), became aware of the anti-British intrigues being carried on between the Bhonsla and the Peshwa of Poona. The latter attacked Mounstuart Elphinstone at Poona, but was defeated at Kirkee, and on 25 November Jenkins deemed it necessary for the infantry and guns to take post on the Seetabuldee hills overlooking the Residency. The 6th Light Cavalry meanwhile relieved the Resident's Escort under Captain William Lloyd (qv) and took post at the gateway of the Residency. At Hearsey's suggestion he and FitzGerald made a swift reconnaissance of the surrounding area which was covered with Indian corn eight or nine feet high towards a rivulet called the Nag-nudee. That night and the next day passed quietly, but then at sunset on the 26th the Bhonsla's army of 20,000 came on and attacked Scott.

As the infantry on the hills struggled to hold the Marhattas at bay, the 6th Light Cavalry were fired upon by the Bhonsla's artillery, several men and horses being bowled over. The 6th L.C. moved position into the surrounding fields and from here Hearsey, with four men 'whose horses would not neigh', reconnoitred the enemy camp from which the Mahratta infantry issued to attack the positions on hills. When he returned it was found that parties of the enemy were pushing towards the undefended Residency. These were swiftly charged and driven away. In the distance flames could be seen against the night sky leaping from the Telingkeri cantonment where a small body of the 1/20th Madras N.I. and thirty troopers of the 6th L.C. had been left under Captain Pew. Six troopers, sent in pairs by different routes, were despatched to recall Pew who duly moved out to join the main body of his regiment on the hills.

Previously, FitzGerald had been told by Scott that if firing was heard between the hills and Telingkeri he was to send of a portion of his men to assist Pew. Firing now broke out in that quarter and Hearsey was sent to investigate with thirty men. He met bodies of Mahratta horse attempting to dispute Pew's passage and charged them. Then, hastening to Pew's detachment, he found it deployed in a square, the 6th L.C. troopers within, and defending themselves against yet more enemy horse. Hearsey charged the Marhattas, who, unable to tell in the dark what strength he had with him, were quickly driven away. He halted his party at a safe distance from the musketry of Pew's men and taking advantage of a lull in the firing rode forward, shouting "Pew! Friends!" The troopers from the square joined Hearsey and acting as skirmishers led Pew's detachment to the Seetabuldee position.

At about midnight the Marhattas sent rocket parties into the fields of high crops and fired into the Residency compound where various officers' ladies were sheltering. Hearsey at considerable risk to himself posted marksmen in the broken ground who after a short while saw off the rocketeers. Hearsey was by this time pretty well all in having been constantly in the saddle for several days, '... this was the third night I had not slept, and I told my commanding officer that if I could not get one or two hours sleep I should not be fit for anything in the morning.'



Hearsey as Colonel of the 2nd Local Horse

His slumber, however, was shortlived for after about an hour a 12-pounder shot carried away the lower part of his bedding. Meanwhile, Cornet Smith of the 6th, at Lloyd's request, charged a body of enemy infantry on the slopes of the lower of the two hills that formed Seetabuldee, driving them into the small buildings thereabouts from which they would not come out until he retired.

The first streak of dawn revealed the Mahratta cavalry massing near the Nag-nuddee. The enemy horse were soon joined by infantry and camels with swivel-guns on the saddles, and a battery of 12-pounders which began to enfilade the left flank of the 6th L.C. FitzGerald sent Hearsey to inform Scott of this development and he arrived on the larger hill just as the Bhonsla's Arab infantry made its determined attack on the party under Captain Lloyd behind a small breast work of corn bags at the summit of the smaller hill. The Arabs drove Lloyd's men out and took possession of two guns which were then turned on the summit of the larger hill. Hearsey recalled: 'All this occurred whilst I was awaiting Colonel Scott's orders, so I witnessed this disaster. There were four of us ... Captain Elliot, Lieutenant Clark of the 24th Madras Native Infantry, Dr. Nixon of the same corps, and myself. We were standing opposite each other talking when the very first cannon shot from the small hill struck off the heads of Clark and Nixon, splashing Elliot and myself with their brains.' Colonel Scott ordered Hearsey to tell FitzGerald to take the first favourable opportunity to charge the Mahrattas on his flank, but FitzGerald, on being told this, said 'that to charge such an innumerable body of all arms with three troops of cavalry, with any chance of success, would not be feasible.' According to Hearsey, FitzGerald further said, 'the only chance of saving our lives was to cut our way through the enemy and endeavour to join a force that was hastening from Hoshangabad under Colonel Gahan'.

Hearsey continues: 'The shot from the batteries and camel swivel-guns were falling fast and thick amongst us. I told Captain FitzGerald that I would not desert the infantry, that we must do or die, pointing to the enemy on the plain. The native officers near, hearing us converse together, and partly understanding that a charge upon the battery and enemy was intended, gave cheer, the Mohammedans calling out "Deen! Deen!" meaning "Our Faith! Our Faith!" and the Hindoos getting dust and throwing it on their heads, thus expressing that they were ready to be sacrificed. This showed that our material was good, and that our men were determined to do their best or die.' Given Hearsey's zeal, FitzGerald had little choice but to charge, and he decided to attack the mass of horse across the Nag-nuddee and so get away from the artillery fire. The three troops formed into a column of threes and rode towards the water course. The portion of the enemy on their flank thought that they were quitting the field and sent a party of horse under a chieftain to intercept them. The chieftain took one look at Hearsey riding at the head of the column with a double-barrelled shotgun in one hand and a pistol in the other and turned and fled. But he was too slow. Hearsey, catching up with him, thrust his pistol into the small of his back blew his guts out. One of the chieftain's followers attempted to cut him down, but Hearsey waving his empty shotgun in the attacker's face made him shy away and thus avoided certain decapitation. By the time Hearsey had disengaged, all but thirty men were up with FitzGerald and Smith in the midst of the enemy horse.

Subadar-Major Bhagwan Singh shouted to Hearsey, "Adjutant Sahib, there is a battery of 12-pounder guns on our left!" Hearsey drew up his men and ordered them to charge the swivel gun camels and a number of horsemen who were driven into the 12-pounder battery and the Mahratta infantry beyond. Hearsey continues: 'I was not long in following them [and] it fortunately happened that the troopers that were with me were mostly trained as horse artillerymen'. The guns were duly turned on the shattered infantry who fled down the Nag-nuddee towards Nagpore, and then turned on the mass of horsemen amongst whom FitzGerald and his party were fighting. The commander of the Mahratta artillery stood alone and resolute near the Nag-nuddee wielding a four-foot long sword. Hearsey charged him but made the error of not riding over him. Instead he leant out to the right and made such a low swoop that his sword point sliced into the ground. As he struggled to regain his saddle, the artillery commander delivered a fearful sword blow across Hearsey's head and neck, but was himself felled by Hearsey's young Rajput orderly with a sword cut, which, though delivered with force, failed to slice the whole way through his huge turban. Seeing that the blow had not been entirely successful, the Rajput, drawing his pistol, screamed, "You have killed my master, my commander, my officer, my father, and I'll put you to death!" With this, he shot the Mahratta through the body, setting fire to his cotton jacket, which igniting his powder horn, 'blew his body to atoms'.

The effect of the cavalry charge on the course of the battle was as dramatic as the action itself. The infantry on the hill redoubled their efforts and Lloyd led his successful counter-attack on the summit of the smaller hill. Hearsey, with blood streaming down his face reported the success of the charge to Scott and received the reply from Jenkins, "We have witnessed it, and most nobly have you behaved." Acting on Hearsey's advice to keep up a steady fire on the hovering bodies of enemy horse, FitzGerald eventually cleared the field and at length the captured guns were brought into the Residency and victory secured. Exhausted by the fatigue of battle, and the effects of his wounds, Hearsey succumbed to fever and was incapacitated for a week, during which time FitzGerald penned a shameful report playing down Hearsey's key role in the battle, and reinforcements arrived under Gahan and Doveton. Thus strengthened the fight was taken to the Bhonsla who was defeated in the Battle of Nagpore on 16 December and the latter gave himself up to Jenkins. Hearsey himself did not actually take part in the Battle of Nagpore, being told that he would be put under arrest on account of the dangerous state of his wound if he attempted to mount his horse. He watched it however from the larger hill of Seetabuldee.

While Subadar-Major Bhagwan Singh received a gold medal for conspicuous gallantry, 300 bighas of land and a pension of 100 rupees a month, Hearsey received neither a pension nor gratuity for his near mortal wound which left him with a legacy of pain for the rest of his life. In the prosecution of the Third Mahratta War, Hearsey next served in General Marshall's column and was present at the surrender of Dhamoni and the storm and capture of Mandala. He then participated in the pursuit of Gunput Rao, the Nagpore Mahratta Chief of Horse, and took part in the action of Seoni against the Peshwa's forces which preceeded the capture of Chanda. In the hot weather of 1818, Appa Sahib escaped from the custody of Jenkins and took to the Mahadeo Hills where the Gondhs rose in his support. But in early 1819 Appa Sahib came to the end of his resources and was given temporary refuge in the fortress of Asseerguhr, which was reduced in the final act of the war in March 1819, Hearsey being present. Appa Sahib escaped to the Punjab where he was afforded the protection of Ranjit Singh. On 31 August of that year Hearsey was promoted Captain.

In April 1820 Hearsey was employed as Major of Brigade with the troops sent to keep order at the great festival celebrated at Hardwar on the Ganges, and was an eye-witness when hundreds of pilgrims were trampled to death as they raced *en masse* to enter the water at the propitious moment. In 1824-25 Hearsey temporarily commanded his regiment and took part in the punishment of the Mahratta chief of Parapur. At Muttra Colonel Beecher took the command, and at the end of 1825 the corps joined the force assembling under the Commander-in-Chief, Lord Combermere, for the purpose of laying siege to the fortress of Bhurtpoor (10 December 1825 - 18 January 1826).

'On the day of the assault', Hearsey recorded, 'I got permission to throw my squadron into a belt of jungle close to the walls, and there I saw a body of horsemen enter. These proved to be the Raja Durjan Sal and his youthful son, Jagmohan Singh. They had hoped to lie concealed in this extensive jungle till night set in, and then escape. I drove them out, and the Raja and his son, with a number of chosen followers, were obliged to bolt, and were intercepted and captured by a picquet of the 8th Regiment of Native Light Cavalry, under the command of Captain Barbor [qv]. Thus was my hope of being the officer to seize the Raja disappointed. If I had been allowed by my commanding officer to proceed into the jungle with my squadron an hour sooner which I implored him to let me do - the Raja and his son would have been my prisoners, and their capture would have been a happy thing for me.'

Following the siege of Bhurtpoor, during which he received a minor wound, Hearsey was detached with his squadron and personally took the surrender of the fortress of Deig. While encamped at that place he received a surprising letter from FitzGerald stating that it was his intention to return to Europe on furlough and expressing his wish that he should succeed him in command of the 6th Local Horse.

In September 1829 Hearsey was appointed to the command of the 2nd Irregular Cavalry (Gardner's Horse) at Bareilly. Gardner's was a silladar regiment, which is to say that the men in the regiment or sometimes those outside it, a retired soldier, his widow, or even a money-lender, owned the places in the corps for which he or she was paid a fixed sum every month by the Government; frequently the native officers owned several places and mounted and armed their sons or nephews as *bagirs*. Those owners of berths outside the regiment paid bagirs to fill their places and kept a small profit for themselves. The arrangement cost the Government less than half of what it would have to fork out for a trooper in a regular regiment. Hearsey found Gardner's in 'a state of internal feud, most of the native officers at deadly enmity with each other, the men badly mounted and worse clothed and armed', but within a year he completely reformed the corps and saved it from disbandment.

Hearsey married on 7 January 1832 at Nusserabad, Harriet, daughter of Major Hyder Hearsey and the Princess of Cambay. By this union he had four sons and three daughters. He was promoted Major in November 1835 and was advanced to Lieutenant-Colonel on 28 December 1838. In 1839 he commanded the 7th Light Cavalry but the next year transferred at his own request to the command of his old corps the 6th L.C. While travelling down the Ganges to join the regiment at Sultanpore-Benares he rescued Major (later Major-General Sir) Henry Havelock and his family whose boat ran into difficulties and sank in the middle of the river. 'Thus commenced a friendship with that renowned officer that only ended with his life.'

In 1841 on the occasion of his departure to England on leave for the first time in thirty-four years, Hearsey was presented with a silver vase inscribed with the names of the battles in which the Bengal Cavalry had distinguished itself by the officers of that arm. His furlough, however, was cut short in 1842 in consequence of the disasters in Afghanistan and he rejoined his regiment in October of that year. In 1844 he was ordered with his corps to Nusseerabad where he came under the command of Major-General Sir John Littler (see Lot 33), and the next year marched on the relief of regiments to Ludhiana where Sir Hugh Wheeler commanded.

To Hearsey's regret the 6th L.C. was ordered to Scinde on the eve of the First Sikh War to protect that territory against attack from Mooltan. At the cessation of hostilities he returned to England on six months furlough but was forced to cut short his stay when his Calcutta agents, Cockerell & Co., failed. On the orders of his close friend Sir Hugh Wheeler, Hearsey was summoned up country with all possible speed to take command of the 7th Light Cavalry who were showing signs of discontent under their then commanding officer. He travelled by 'carriage-dawk propelled' (or express), and soon soothed the situation within the corps. At the start of the Second Sikh war Hearsey marched under Wheeler and crossed the Beas to reduce the forts of Runger Nungal and Moraree. On reaching the latter place Hearsey heard that he was appointed Brigadier of Irregular Cavalry with Lord Gough's army assembling at Lahore. His brigade consisted of the 2nd, 9th and 12th Irregular Cavalry, and he joined the latter in advance of the main force at Ramnugger on the Chenab where he witnessed the deaths of Cureton and Will Havelock.

On the first day of Chilianwala Hearsey's brigade guarded the army's baggage which covered an area of no less than four square miles, and twice repulsed the Sikh horse with loss. On moving forward with the baggage to a new camping ground on the 14th, Lord Gough in the presence of his Staff, thanked Hearsey, saying "You have been protecting a moving world." At Gujerat Hearsey, commanding two cavalry brigades on the right of the line, foiled an attempt to turn that flank. He afterwards took part in his brigades' seventeen mile pursuit that immediately followed the battle, and captured nine guns, he himself being twenty-three hours in the saddle. He then took part in the prolonged pursuit of the enemy to the Afghan frontier. For these services he was promoted Brevet Colonel on 19 March 1849 and made a Companion of the Bath.

Appointed Brigadier on the permanent staff, he was given command of the troops at Wazirabad where a change in allowances, by accident rather than intent, so offended the Sepoys of the 32nd N.I. that they refused their pay, an act amounting to mutiny. Hearsey immediately arrested the first man to refuse from each company, and then delivered an address that made many 'hang down their heads in shame'. At a second parade four Sepoys again refused. They were clapped in irons in front of the whole brigade and later sentenced in General Orders 'to linger out their miserable lives' in exile. On 28 November 1854 Hearsey was promoted Major-General and given command of the Presidency Division at Barrackpore near Calcutta. He was then sixty-one years of age and was acknowledged as possessing an unrivalled knowledge of the native soldier and of native thought. His first wife having died in 1847, Hearsey remarried in May 1854, Emma, daughter of Thomas Rumball of Friday Hall, Woodford, Essex, by whom he had, with other issue, a son, Charles John Rumball Hearsey (see Lot 94). Of his sons by his first marriage, the eldest, John, and the second, Andrew, became officers in the Bengal Infantry and served their father as Aide-de-Camps in 1857.

On 22 January 1857, Lieutenant Wright commanding a detachment of the 70th N.I. at the Dum-Dum Musketry Depot, near, Calcutta reported that his men were seriously upset by the rumour that the cartridges for the new Enfield rifle were greased with cow and pig fat. Hearsey was informed next day and immediately wrote to headquarters in Calcutta. He knew that the Commander-in-Chief, the Hon. George Anson (qv), and the Adjutant-General were away, and so addressed himself to the Military Secretary to the Government, suggesting that the Sepoys should be allowed to grease their cartridges with oil and beeswax as was the practice of light companies throughout the Army with the bullet and patch for the old pattern rifle. The Military Secretary received Hearsey's letter on the 27th and acted on it with promptitude giving Hearsey the orders he wanted, and telegraphing the Adjutant-General at Meerut asking him to send out the same instructions to the whole Army. But the Adjutant-General hesitated arguing that the issue of General Orders would raise doubts in the minds of the Sepoys. Unfortunately, doubt already existed not only about the new Enfield cartridges but also the old lubricant used with the old rifle and even the glaze on the cartridge paper of the Brown Bess musket.

Hearsey's command at Barrackpore included the 2nd Grenadiers, the 34th N.I., 43rd N.I., and 70th N.I., and he was fully aware that the Sepoys' suspicions had not been allayed. On 8 February he wrote to Calcutta warning of the mutinous spirit that seemed to have 'taken deep root', and which in his opinion was a 'mine ready for explosion'. He declared his intention to parade the troops on the morrow and 'explain the absurdity of the notion that the Government entertains the most distant intention of interfering with their religion or caste', which he duly did in his fluent Hindustani. Meanwhile the 19th N.I. refused cartridges at Berhampore and the 34th N.I., who had a detachment recently arrived at that station, were paraded at Barrackpore for another speech by Hearsey. The 19th, in the meantime were ordered back to Barrackpore to receive punishment for their misconduct.

The explosion which Hearsey feared took place on 29 March 1857. It was the affair of Mangal Pande, an event reckoned to be the first incident of the Indian Mutiny. Mangle Pande, whose name became the contemptuous term for all mutineers, appeared in front of the quarter-guard of his regiment, the 34th, dressed in his regimental jacket but barefoot and wearing a *dhoti* instead of trousers. He brandished a musket and under the influence of *bhang* - an infusion of hemp - rampaged up and down, ordering the bugler to sound the assembly and calling on his comrades to resist forcible conversion. The bugler did not comply but the quarter-guard, under Jemadar Ishwari Pande, made no attempt to arrest him. Hewson, the European Sergeant-Major appeared. Mangal Pande fired at him and missed, but again no one made any attempt to arrest him. One man rushed to the house of Lieutenant Baugh, the Adjutant, who rode to the quarter-guard, where his horse was brought down by Pande's second shot. Baugh and Hewson went at Mangle Pande with their swords but the latter stood his ground and drawing his tulwar cut Baugh across the shoulder and neck. Hewson meanwhile was felled from behind with a blow from a Sepoy's musket. Both Europeans would have been killed had it not been for a Muslim Sepoy, Shaikh Paltu, who held Mangle Pande around the waist while, belaboured by the butt ends of the guards' muskets, Baugh and Hewson made good their escape. Shaikh Paltu, pelted by stones and shoes, was obliged to retire also.

At this point Colonel S. G. Wheeler, commanding the 34th, arrived on the scene. He ordered the guard to arrest Mangal Pande, but they refused and he left the ground to report to the Brigadier Grant who was equally incapable of dealing with the situation when at length he appeared. Such was the situation when Baugh staggered into Hearsey's quarters and told him there was a riot in the native lines. Hearsey, calling out for his two sons, John and Andrew, and Major Ross of his Staff, left at once. When the Harseys came galloping up to the guard, someone shouted to the General, "Take care, his musket is loaded." At which Hearsey bellowed his famous response, "Damn his musket!" Lieutenant John Hearsey then called out, "Father, he is taking aim at you!" The General replied "If I fall, John, rush upon him and put him to death." Having given this order, Hearsey rode up to the guard and shaking his pistol at Ishwari Pande, said "Listen to me. The first man who refuses to march when I give the word is a dead man. Quick march!" The guard obeyed, whereupon Mangle Pande attempted suicide with his musket but only managed to wound himself. He was tried a week later and hanged on 8 April. Ishwari Pande met a similar fate on the 21st of the same month.

Two days after the Mangle Pande affair, the 19th N.I. were paraded before Hearsey and in the presence of H.M.'s 84th Regiment and two batteries of field artillery, an order of disbandment was read out. The Sepoys obediently piled their arms and equipment, and, in recognition of their good behaviour since the incident at Berhampore, were allowed to take their uniforms with them to their homes, as well as the last instalment of their pay. Furthermore they were provided with transport to their homes at the public expense and encouraged to visit places of pilgrimage on the way. Many of the Sepoys showed penitence. They blamed their troubles on agitators in the 34th, and even wished they might have been allowed to fight it out with them. When the 19th left the parade ground they cheered Hearsey and wished him a long and happy life. The 34th on the other hand who were disbanded at a later parade took it less quietly than the 19th and marched off in sullen mood indicating that they would cause trouble at the first opportunity. By his well-judged and prompt action in disbanding these regiments Hearsey prevented the 'unimaginable' calamity of murder and insurrection at the heart of the British presence in India. Of the other regiments at Barrackpore Hearsey was subsequently obliged to disarm the 2nd Grenadiers and the 34th N.I. The 70th N.I. were also disarmed but remained loyal and volunteered for service in China.

In August 1857 Hearsey was advanced to a K.C.B., but his not insignificant contribution to the history of the 'Great Mutiny' did not qualify him for the subsequent issue of the medal for that campaign. He returned to England in 1861 and the next year was appointed Colonel of the 21st Hussars (later 21st (Empress of India's) Lancers). Promoted Lieutenant-General in 1863, he did not live long to enjoy his hard earned retirement, dying of bronchitis just two years later at 24 Rue Marquette, Boulogne-sur-Mer, on 23 October 1865.

Refs: The Hearseys, Five Generations of an Anglo-Indian Family (Pearse); Modern English Biography (Boase); The Great Mutiny (Hibbert).



The important Third Mahratta War medal specially sanctioned to Sir Richard Jenkins, G.C.B., Resident at Nagpore 1810-27, who was present at the battle of Seetabuldee and the capture of Nagpore, and later a Director and Chairman of the Honourable East India Company

ARMY OF INDIA 1799-1826, 1 clasp, Seetabuldee & Nagpore (Rd. Jenkins. Esqr. Rest. at Nagpoor) short hyphen reverse, officially impressed naming, fitted with contemporary silver ribbon buckle, *very fine, a rare and important medal*
£12000-15000

Only 19 clasps for Seetabuldee & Nagpore issued to European recipients, this being unique to a civilian.

In announcing the Queen's assent to the award of the "India Medal" to the Government of India in March 1851, the Hon. Court of Directors specified at Clause 7 that 'It is our intention to present the Medal granted for Kirkee and Poona to the Honourable Mount Stuart Elphinstone, and the Medal for Seetabuldee and Nagpoor to Sir Richard Jenkins, G.C.B., in testimony of their services during the military operations in those actions respectively.' Elphinstone's medal was sold at Glendining in October 1981, and at Spink in March 1997.

Richard Jenkins was the eldest son of Richard Jenkins of Bicton Hall, Shropshire, and was born at Cruckton, near Shrewsbury, on 18 February 1785. He was nominated a Writer on the Bombay Establishment in 1798 and arrived in India in 1800. Having made his mark at the Company's College at Fort William, he entered the Governor-General's office and, in 1804, was appointed First Assistant to Webbe, the British Resident at the court of Doulat Rao Scindia of Gwalior. At about this time he became a close friend of the young Resident at Nagpore, the scholar and bon viveur Mountstuart Elphinstone, whose 'love of literature and sport' he shared. Without necessarily referring to his linguistic abilities Elphinstone wrote: 'Jenkins understands all languages perfectly.'

In 1804, amid British concern over the power struggle for control the Mahratta Confederacy, Webbe was taken ill and died, whereupon the responsibility for British interests at Scindia's court devolved on Jenkins, who was duly appointed Acting Resident, pending the arrival of Webbe's successor, Colonel Close from Poona. At length Scindia's hostile posturings forced Jenkins to sever diplomatic relations, and he prepared to withdraw his embassy. But Scindia prevaricated and at the end of January 1805, before Jenkins could depart, a body of the Scindia's Pindarries rendered him and 'his associates virtually prisoners'. They were released nine months later on the demand of Lord Lake as a condition to the opening of the negotiations which led to the treaty of November 1805.

In 1807, Jenkins was appointed to take charge of the Residency at Nagpore, when Elphinstone was despatched on a mission to Afghanistan, and later became Resident on Elphinstone's appointment to Poona in 1810. At this time Jenkins first suggested, in several communications to Lord Minto, the annihilation of the predatory Pindarry gangs who, issuing 'like wild dogs from between the feet of their nominal masters', the Mahratta princes, laid waste great stretches of countryside. Jenkins' design was later adopted by the Marquis of Hastings who invited the Mahratta princes to join in the suppression of the Pindarries. Naturally, this step was viewed with dislike in the Mahratta capitals and ultimately led to the start of the Pindarry, or Third Mahratta War in 1817.

Earlier that year at Nagpore, Appa Sahib, the regent of the Berar and Nagpore, seized the throne after murdering his ward. Initially Appa Sahib, the Bhonsla, proved friendly to the British and entered into a subsidiary treaty but his intrigues with the Peshwa at Poona naturally aroused Jenkins' suspicion. As had happened with Elphinstone at Poona, the tension mounted intolerably at Nagpore, and for many weeks Jenkins lived under the shadow of the Bhonsla's decision to throw in his lot with the Pindarries which might be announced at any moment with an attack on the Residency and his own death. On 23 November 1817, Appa Sahib informed Jenkins that he intended to publicly receive a 'khelut', or honorary dress, from the Peshwa, with all the ceremony befitting the Bhonsla, and requested that the Resident or a deputy should mark the event with his presence and that a salute be fired in the British cantonment. Jenkins promptly reminded the Bhonsla that his country was at war with the Peshwa and to accept the khelut would prove highly offensive to the British. In spite of Jenkins' clarification of the British standpoint, the Bhonsla, mounted on his elephant, next day proceeded in great state to a parade of his troops at Suckurdurra and was duly invested with the offending garment. Furthermore, he used the occasion to accept the Peshwa's commission as Commander-in-Chief of the Mahratta armies. The Zireeputka, or royal standard, was displayed, salutes fired and sabres rattled.

On the 25th, Jenkins found his messengers barred from the Mahratta camp and the markets shut against Company troops and camp followers. Towards noon, a party of 2,000 Mahratta horse approached the Residency and Pindarries were reported close by. Though anxious to avoid precipitating hostilities, Jenkins, being responsible for the lives of his staff and their ladies, instructed at 2 p.m. Lieutenant-Colonel Hopetoun Scott, the senior officer on the spot, to move his meagre forces of 1,500 men from the British cantonment at Telincary, three miles distant, to a defensible position above the Residency in the Seetabuldee hills. From dawn on the 26th, the British force watched the Mahrattas bring up their guns and deploy, but dared not to interfere in the hope that hostilities could still yet be avoided. At sunset, the Bhonsla sent two of his ministers to state his grievances and while they were in conference with Jenkins the action, accidentally it is believed, commenced 'without the knowledge of the ministers in the residency.'

The Bhonsla's army of 20,000 men attacked Scott's position in force for eighteen hours and ultimately it seemed that the severely depleted force of Company troops on Seetabuldee hill would be overwhelmed and destroyed. At that moment, Captain FitzGerald (Ritchie 1-36) made his epic charge and turned the tide of the battle, securing an astonishing victory. Jenkins, who actively encouraged the troops throughout, was noticed in despatches, and later was named in a speech made in the House of Commons by George Canning, the President of the Board of Control, who said: "At Nagpore, as at Poona, an attack was suddenly made on the British residency while the attention of the Governor-General was supposed exclusively occupied with the Pindarry war. A similar resistance was successfully opposed to this attack, by the resident, Mr Jenkins, who affords another instance of the happy union of military qualifications with diplomatic skill, and whose courage and constancy had been heretofore displayed under very trying circumstances, when after the former Mahratta war, he held the office of resident at the court of Scindia."

General Orders written shortly after the Battle of Seetabuldee record: 'The Rajah sent in vakeels to sue for a suspension of hostilities, but the Resident, Mr. Jenkins, refused to communicate with him until all the troops were withdrawn from the vicinity of the residency, which was accordingly done. Reinforcements are on their march to Nagpore from several quarters, and a considerable British force will shortly be assembled there. His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief is to direct a royal salute be fired from the artillery park. By command of his Excellency the Governor-General.' Before the reinforcements arrived, however, Jenkins demanded the immediate surrender of the Bhonsla and the disbandment of his army, but it proved necessary to await the arrival of the three brigades under Brigadier-General Doveton and the successful outcome of the Battle of Nagpore on 16 December before these conditions could be exacted. Later, although deposed, Appa Sahib continued his intrigues with the Peshwa, compelling Jenkins to arrest and imprison him on 15 March 1818. Rahuji, an infant grandson of Rahuji II, was set up in his place under British tutelage, and Jenkins became the virtual ruler of the kingdom of Nagpore until December 1826, when its future was determined under a treaty drawn up by himself.

Jenkins returned to England in 1828 and went to live on his estate at Abbey Foregate, Shrewsbury. On 20 July 1838 he was created a Knight Grand Cross of the Bath, which as the Marquess of Wellesley pointed out in a letter to Jenkins was the first occasion that it had been conferred on an Indian Civil Servant below the rank of Governor. He was chosen as Deputy-Chairman of the H.E.I.Co. in 1839, and represented Shrewsbury in the Conservative interest between 1830 and 1841. The University of Oxford made him a D.C.L., and he served as a Deputy-Lieutenant for Shropshire and as a J.P. for Middlesex. He died on 30 December 1853, at his residence, Gothic Cottage, Blackheath.

Refs: Dictionary of National Biography; East India Military Calendar; Medals and Decorations of the British Army & Navy (Mayo).



The Third Mahratta War medal for the capture of Nagpore to Private John Morris, 1st Foot, late 33rd Foot

ARMY OF INDIA 1799-1826, 1 clasp, Nagpore (J. Morris, 1st Foot) short hyphen reverse, officially impressed naming, *nearly extremely fine* £2000-2500

Ex Sotheby May 1884 and Hamilton-Smith 1927.

Approximately 95 Nagpore clasps issued to the 1st Foot, the only British regiment present.

John Morris was born at Blackburn, Lancaster, and was a weaver before enlisting into the 33rd Foot on 24 October 1793. He ‘served in India with the 33rd Foot from the 25th December 1795 to the 24th December 1804, and from 25th April 1808 to the 20th January 1812, when he was transferred to the 1st Foot. He served as a private throughout his career and was finally discharged at Horse Guards on 26 October 1819, and admitted to pension on 15 December 1819, in consequence of being ‘worn out and length of service.’

Ref: WO 97/233.



The Third Mahratta War medal for the battle of Maheidpoor to Trooper John Handy, 22nd Light Dragoons

ARMY OF INDIA 1799-1826, 1 clasp, Maheidpoor (J. Handy, 22nd Lt. Dragns.) short hyphen reverse, officially impressed naming, *minor handling marks, otherwise extremely fine* £2500-3000

Ex Sotheby March 1893, Littledale 1910 and Needes 1939.

75 clasps for Maheidpoor issued to European recipients, including 30 to the 22nd Light Dragoons and 37 to the 1st Foot, the only British regiments present at this action.

John Handy is recorded on the Regimental Muster Roll of the 22nd Light Dragoons for the period 25 November - 24 December 1817 as being with Captain William Blundell's Troop at 'the Camp on the right bank of the Maun River'. On 21 December of that year he was present with the 9,000-strong force under Lieutenant-General Sir Thomas Hislop at the Battle of Maheidpoor where Holkar of Indore with 35,000 men was decisively beaten.

Ref: WO 12/1476.



The First Burma War medal to Captain James Stewart, 47th Foot

ARMY OF INDIA 1799-1826, 1 clasp, Ava (Lieut. J. Stewart, 47th Foot) short hyphen reverse, officially impressed naming, *nearly extremely fine* £800-1000

Ex Tombs 1918.

James Stewart, son of Major-General Francis Stewart, late Ceylon Regiment, was first commissioned as a Cornet into the 6th Dragoon Guards on 17 March 1814. He transferred to a vacant Lieutenancy in the 1st Garrison Battalion in April 1816, and by 1818 was on the half pay of the 92nd Regiment. In May 1819, on the intervention of his father, he obtained an appointment as a full pay officer in the 47th Regiment, with whom he subsequently served in India during the First Burma War. Stewart was on leave in Europe for two years from July 1825 to July 1827. He was promoted to Captain, by purchase, and transferred to Half Pay on the Unattached List on 25 May 1827.

Refs: WO 12/5899-5900; WO 31/395/439/475; published British Army Lists.



The First Burma War medal to Captain Hugh Kyd, 102nd Madras European Regiment, seriously wounded in Burma

ARMY OF INDIA 1799-1826, 1 clasp, Ava (Capt. Hugh Kyd, Eur. Regt.) short hyphen reverse, officially impressed naming, good very fine £800-1000

Hugh Kyd was born on 13 May 1787 at Tullyish, Co. Down, and was nominated a Cadet for the Madras Infantry by the Parliamentary Board of Control. He arrived in India in 1805 and was posted to the 1st Madras European Regiment. He became Captain in 1818 while on furlough in England and returned to India in 1823.

During the First Burma War, Kyd sailed from Masulipatam with a detachment of his regiment on 14 April 1824, and took part in the expedition against Rangoon. In June he was seriously wounded during the operations against a strong stockade before Kemmedine, when 'the grenadiers of the Madras Europeans, led by Captain Kyd, of the Corps, and supported by a native battalion, carried the place by storm, the men mounting upon one another's shoulders.'

He was appointed Major of Brigade to the Light Brigade at Rangoon and was 'Particularly praised by Lt-Col. Smith for the able assistance he afforded as Brigade Major at the unsuccessful affair of Smith's detachment at Kykloo, and for the cool and steady courage he manifested in all times of difficulty.' Kyd became Commandant of the 4th Extra Regiment, Madras N.I., on 6 January 1826, and was promoted Major in August 1829. He retired in 1836 as Lieutenant-Colonel.

Refs: IOL L/MIL/11/39; IOL L/AG/23/10/1-2; Neill's "Blue Caps" (Wylly)..



The First Burma War medal to Major-General William Cotton, 10th Madras Native Infantry

ARMY OF INDIA 1799-1826, 1 clasp, Ava (Lieut. W. Cotton, 10th N.I.) short hyphen reverse, officially impressed naming, some surface and edge nicks, otherwise better than very fine £800-1000

William Cotton, the son of Thomas Cotton of Enfield, Stockbroker, and his wife Sarah, was born on 20 October 1802 and was baptised at St Mary's, Walthamstow. He was nominated for the Madras Infantry by J. Bosanquet, Esq., and joined the 10th Madras N.I. He became Lieutenant on 13 June 1819, and served as Interpreter and Paymaster.

During the First Burma War he was present at Mungoodoo and at the taking of Arracan on 3 April 1825. In December 1827 he was appointed Adjutant, and advanced to Captain in May of the following year, and in 1836 was 'present at three or four trifling affairs in Goomsoor'. Cotton married Anne, the daughter of L. H. Stirling, Second Commissioner of the Court of Requests, Madras, on 20 December 1823. They had a daughter Sophia who died at Wallajabad aged four years in 1831, and Mrs Cotton herself died at Madras in 1832. Cotton retired with the rank of Major-General in December 1861 and died at Margate on 16 September 1869.

Ref: Hodson Index (NAM); IOL L/MIL/11/39.



The K.C.B. and Siege of Bhurtpoor group to Colonel Sir Proby Cautley, Bengal Artillery, Knighted for the construction of the Ganges Canal, completed in April 1854

(a) THE MOST HONOURABLE ORDER OF THE BATH (Civil) K.C.B., Knight Commander's set of insignia, comprising neck badge, 18 carat gold, hallmarked London 1851, maker's mark RG for Robert Garrard; and breast star, silver, gold and enamels, the reverse plate inscribed *Widdowson & Veale, Goldsmiths, 73 Strand, London*, and stamped with maker's mark WN, fitted with gold pin for wearing, scarce early insignia of the recently enlarged Civil Division of the Order

(b) ARMY OF INDIA 1799-1826, 1 clasp, Bhurtpoor (Lieutt. P. T. Cautley, (1st) Regt. of Arty.) long hyphen reverse, naming officially engraved in running script, nearly extremely fine (3) £2000-2500

Ex Tamplin Collection, Sotheby, February 1985.

The Civil Division of the Order of the Bath was enlarged in 1847 to include second and third classes and 25 K.C.B. and 50 C.B. badges were duly prepared by Garrard & Co. The supply of these badges had run out by August 1851 when a further 10 K.C.B. badges were ordered, one of which was subsequently issued to Cautley. At this period he would have received the standard issue 'paper' star issued by the Lord Chamberlain's Office and would have purchased this metal star at his own expense.

Proby Thomas Cautley, constructor of the Ganges Canal, was the son of the Rev Thomas Cautley of Stratfield St. Mary's, Suffolk, and Catherine, daughter of the Rev Charles Proby, and was born on 3 January 1802. He was educated at Charterhouse and nominated a Cadet for the Bengal Artillery by James Pattison, Esq., at the recommendation of his uncle, A. E. Impey, Esq. He was examined and passed into Addiscombe in July 1818, and a year later was commissioned a 2nd Lieutenant. After promotion to Lieutenant in 1821 and regimental service in various appointments including Adjutant and Quartermaster in 1823-24, Cautley was appointed an assistant to Captain Robert Smith, Bengal Engineers, supervising the reconstruction of the Eastern Jumna Canal - the original canal, dug during the reign of Emperor Shah Jahan, the builder of the Taj Mahal, having failed due to faulty alignment. Work, however, was interrupted in December 1825, when Cautley and the rest of the canal officers were recalled to serve under Lord Combermere at the Siege of Bhurtpoor. After the capture of that fortress he returned to his work on the Eastern Jumna Canal which was opened in 1830. The following year he was placed in overall charge of the Jumna Canal, and by 1836 he occupied the post of Superintendent of Canals.

In 1837 the rains completely failed in the Doab between the fast flowing upper reaches of the Ganges and Jumna, causing widespread famine and substantial financial loss to the Government of the North-West Provinces. The only fertile fields to be seen that year were those beside the new Jumna Canal. Clearly there was an urgent need to construct a means of irrigating the whole of the Doab which promised, if properly watered, to be highly productive. The ambitious project of a canal from the Ganges had already been examined by Colonel John Colvin, Bengal Engineers, but with such discouraging results that it had been abandoned. Now in the light of the recent disaster, the Provincial Government asked Cautley to re-examine the problem. He agreed with Colvin that a suitable site for the canal's headworks could be found near Hardwar where the Ganges enters the plains and in December 1839 he commenced operations. But the parsimony of the authorities was such that the grant sanctioned to him was insufficient to hire even one qualified assistant. Cautley reacted characteristically and 'set out on his mission with only a few servants to carry his tents and provisions. For six months the Superintendent-General walked and rode across swamps and jungles, taking each level and measurement himself, and sitting up at nights transferred them to his maps. After this drudgery he was confident that the 300-mile canal could be made. Though mainly for irrigation it was also to be navigable by barges.'

In order for the canal to reach the ground from which the land to be irrigated could be commanded, Cautley boldly proposed that it should follow a direct line and be made to go under or above the various torrential tributaries which ran from the copious natural drainage lines of the country near the Sivalik Hills. The first twenty miles of the canal presented the greatest test to Cautley's ingenuity. The project's 'colossal character' wrote the Hon. Alfred Deakin, the author of *Irrigated India*, 'can be best conceived when a picture is presented to the mind of an artificial river sometimes carried over what in the rains are rivers, sometimes having those rivers carried over it, and at other times taking them into its course.



The first twelve miles of the Ganges Canal are in deep cutting, and at the sixth mile it encounters the Rani Rao torrent, transported overhead in a masonry aqueduct (at Ranipur) termed a superpassage, 200 feet wide and capable of taking a flood 14 feet deep. In the tenth mile comes the Puttri (Pathri) torrent, received by a superpassage 296 feet wide, 14 feet deep and 450 feet long. The Ratmau torrent in the thirteenth mile offers an equally astounding spectacle. It is permitted to flow straight into the canal ... The Solani Aqueduct comes in the nineteenth mile. It has 750 feet in length of clear waterway on 15 arches, or 920 feet of masonry in all bearing a channel 164 feet broad and 10 feet deep upon foundations 252 feet wide, resting on wells sunk 20 feet below ground. The upstream and downstream continuations are carried on an immense earthen embankment whose base is 350 feet wide, making 15,700 feet lined with masonry between banks 30 feet wide - a far grander work than anything in Italy.' Cautley's great work initially met with considerable opposition from the Government in Calcutta. War overshadowed India, money was tight, and there was a scarcity of trained engineers and skilled labour. To succeeding Governor-Generals, champions of Britain's military mission in Asia, the canal was an anathema - a costly drain on the limited resources of the Treasury. 'Originating as it did during the commencement of the Afghan War,' wrote Cautley 'the Ganges Canal was nursed at a period of intense trouble to the State; its weary progress was unwillingly prosecuted during the whole of a warlike administration'.

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Cautley spent much of his time in England canvassing support for the canal and stressing its importance to Indian agriculture. He read a paper to the Royal Society and in 1846 was made a Fellow. On his return to India three years later, via Lombardy and Piedmont where he visited irrigation works, he found that the official attitude to the canal had dramatically changed and that the project now enjoyed the full support of the new Governor-General, Lord Dalhousie, and the Lieutenant-Governor of the North-West Provinces, James Thomason, who at Cautley's suggestion founded the Thomason Civil Engineering College at Roorkee in 1847 to train engineer officers and subordinates for the Canal work.

Over 300,000,000 bricks were required in the construction of the canal and here Cautley faced another problem. The only available fuel, the *Butea Frondosa*, or Flame Tree, was particularly unsuited to the baking of bricks as a large number were invariably burnt up. The problem was eventually solved by an officer recently returned from Sind, who developed a type of kiln used in that province in which the bricks were insulated in ashes. 'Now' Cautley recorded in his memoirs 'we had bricks as good as any that could be had in Europe.' Some hundred square miles of jungle were cleared for fuel and 100,000 tons of lime were procured for mixing with the mortar which was sometimes reinforced with lumps of crude sugar known as *gur*. This *gur* was apparently irresistible to the sweet tooth of the coolies, who carried it from the godowns to the mortar pits, and who, despite warnings of dire consequences if caught, would eat and distribute among their friends up to half of their loads. None of the canal officials knew what to do about it. Then one day Cautley had one of his brainwaves. Next morning he collected several assistants outside the warehouse and waited for each coolie to appear with his load of *gur*. As he came by he was asked to stop, put it down and stand aside while each of the assembled Englishmen spat on it.

The Ganges Canal was finally completed on schedule and opened on 8 April 1854. The earlier difficulties were forgotten and Cautley was widely acclaimed, his feat of engineering being ranked among the foremost of the day. H. G. Keene, Bengal Civil Service, was one of those who attended the grand opening at Roorkee, '... a dense crowd filled the surrounding plain, over which leapt the light arches of the Solani aqueduct, lined with scarlet-coated sepoy; and as the Lieutenant-Governor lifted the bar that opens the sluice-gate, the troops fired a *feu-de-joie*, and the European spectators raised "a cheer for Colonel Cautley," the Engineer-in-Chief, as, with folded arms and bent head, he silently watched the inrush of the waters that were to save a million fields from famine so long as the British rule in India should last.' Cautley retired a month later and was honoured by the city of Calcutta who placed his bust in the Town Hall and presented him with a Memorial. On the morning he left India he was conveyed in Dalhousie's yacht from Chandpal Ghat to the packet steamer and accorded the honour of a 13-gun salute fired from the ramparts of Fort William. Shortly after his arrival home he was appointed a Civil K.C.B. (London Gazette 1 August 1854), and took up residence in Sackville Street off Piccadilly.

During the Mutiny the canal played an important role as a means of rapid transport for troops going to Meerut and other centres of insurrection. Conversely, the canal presented the mutineers with a prime target and an attack was planned on the headworks at Hardwar, but thanks to the presence of mind of an old canal employee called Moola, a disaster to the canal, at least, was averted. When the attack occurred there were hardly any troops at Hardwar and Moola seeing the rebels crossing the shallow river acted on his own initiative and suddenly closed the canal gates. Water surged back into the river, drowning no fewer than six hundred mutineers.

In 1858, Sir Proby was appointed to the newly instituted Council of India, and served on that body until 1868. In addition to his distinguished career as an engineer, Cautley was an acknowledged geologist and palaeontologist, and carried out extensive explorations in the Sivalik Hills. Cautley, a Fellow of the Geological Society, was joined in his researches by Dr Hugh Falconer of the Botanical Gardens at Saharunpore, and together they were awarded the Woollaston Medal in 1837. He presented his collection of fossils, weighing no less than 40 tons to the British Museum. In the latter part of his life Cautley became involved in a professional argument with Major-General Sir Arthur Cotton (brother of Sir Sydney Cotton (see Lot 42) and father of Captain A. F. Cotton (see Lot 43)) who maintained that he should have sited his headworks much lower down the river. A Government Committee was set up to investigate the matter and reported that in principle Cotton was right.

Honorary Colonel Sir Proby Cautley married Frances, the daughter of Anthony Bacon of Hcott, Berkshire, on 26 September 1839 at Landour, United Provinces, and died without issue at his home at The Avenue, Sydenham Park, Kent, on 25 January 1871, aged sixty-nine.

His great work was the construction of the Ganges Canal which virtually banished the spectre of famine from the Doab and turned the region into one of India's richest agricultural areas. In the single famine year of 1865-66, the canal repaid the country more than its total cost of £1,400,000.

Reis: Hodson Index (NAM); Dictionary of Indian Biography; Dictionary of National Biography; Modern English Biography (Boase); Encyclopædia Britannica; Addiscombe - It's Heroes and Men of Note; The Military Engineer in India (Sandes); The Geographical Magazine, August, 1957; General Sir Arthur Cotton, His Life and Work (Lady Hope); The History of the Order of the Bath and its insignia (Risk).



The First Burma War and Capture of Ghuznee pair to Major-General Bulstrode Bygrave, Paymaster of the Cabul Army, one of the few survivors of the massacre in the Jugdulluck Pass who, after days walking through the mountains with the loss of the toes of one foot from frostbite, became the last European prisoner of Akbar Khan

- (a) ARMY OF INDIA 1799-1826, 1 clasp, Ava (Lieut. B. Bygrave, Pionrs.) short hyphen reverse, officially engraved naming
- (b) GHUZNEE 1839 (Captain B. Bygrave, 5th Regt. N.I.) naming engraved in fine running script in the reverse field, very fine (2)
- £2500-3000

Ex Whitaker collection 1890.

Bulstrode Bygrave, the son of George Augustus Bygrave, Barrack Master on the Isle of Wight, and his wife Elizabeth, was born on 9 October 1802 and was baptised at Newchurch, Isle of Wight. He was nominated for the Bengal Infantry by Alexander Allan, Esq., at the recommendation of Colonel Campbell, and did duty with the 3rd N.I. as Ensign from June 1821. He was posted to the 1/2nd N.I. (5th N.I. post 1824) as Lieutenant in 1823, and served in the First Burma War as Adjutant of the Native Pioneers, being present during operations on the Sylhet Frontier and in the Arakan. In July 1828 he was appointed Paymaster to the Native Pensioners and Adjutant of the Native Invalids at Allahabad. Later the same year he became embroiled in a dispute over 3829.5 Rs. with one Kallee Kooman, and in 1837, a fraudster called Sewdeen, aided and abetted by three native pensioners, attempted unsuccessfully to swindle him.

In late 1838 Bygrave was appointed Paymaster to the Army of the Indus and was subsequently present at the storming of Ghuznee on 23 July 1839, taking a share in the Ghuznee Prize, and receiving the Order of the Dooranee Empire, 3rd Class. After nearly two years service as Paymaster General at Cabul, Bygrave volunteered to rejoin his regiment and took part in Colonel Oliver's punitive expedition to Zurmat in September and October 1841. By the time he returned to the British cantonment at Cabul, the capital was on the brink of open revolt. In November, Sir Alexander Burnes, was murdered by a mob, but no attempt was made to punish or disperse the rebels. Cut off from the garrison at Kandahar by snow and from Sir Robert Sale's brigade at Jellalabad by ferocious Ghilzai tribesmen, the British at Cabul anxiously awaited the outcome of negotiations between the British Envoy, Sir William MacNaghten, and the rebel chiefs. In early December, MacNaghten agreed to the release of Dost Mohamed, the former amir at Cabul who had given himself up after Sale's foray into Kohistan a year earlier, and to quit Afghanistan. However, before the retreat could begin MacNaghten suspected the good faith of the chiefs with whom he had signed his treaty, and opened talks with a rival Afghan faction. He was betrayed to Dost Mohamed's son, Akbar Khan, and was assassinated less than a mile from the British cantonment on his way to a meeting. Yet not a British bayonet moved. Major-General William Elphinstone, the sick and indecisive commander of the British forces in Afghanistan, ignored the incident for fear of antagonising the chiefs, and refused to act on the advice of some of his officers to occupy the citadel or fight their way out to Jellalabad.

During the period of insurrection, Elphinstone appointed Bygrave to the command of the South East Bastion and angle of the Cabul cantonment and according to Lieutenant Vincent Eyre's *Journal of an Afghanistan Prisoner* he 'never slept away from his post (the battery near his house) for a single night and took his full share of fatigue without adverting to his staff appointment.' Moreover, Bygrave later complained '... clothes never off my back, out in all weathers with my men and at all hours night and day.'

On 6 January 1842, Elphinstone, with Bygrave in close attendance, led the British garrison out from the cantonment to begin its disorderly and dangerous retreat and leaving behind the greater part of its guns and stores. The Cabul Army, comprising 690 British infantry, 2840 native infantry, 970 native cavalry, was hampered by a herd of panic-stricken native camp followers, and was attacked as soon as it left the cantonment, the Afghans closing in on the rearguard and killing more than fifty men and causing two guns to be abandoned.

That night the column camped without the benefit of shelter. 'All scraped away the snow as best they might to make a place to lie down on' wrote Lady Sale, '... there was no food for man or beast procurable ... At daylight we found several men frozen to death ... numbers of men, women and children are left on the roadside to perish.'

Next day, the Afghans continued to harass the struggling column, charging their horses into the throng, slaying and plundering indiscriminately. On the morning of the 8th, the 5th N.I. were thrown into confusion by a surging mass of camp followers at Boodhak. Bygrave, however, extricated the regiment and despite being under enemy fire managed to restore order and bring the sepoy to face the Afghan skirmishers. For his presence of mind on this occasion he received the thanks of Major Thain, A.D.C., and 'every company officer'.

Periodically Akbar Khan rode into Elphinstone's camp to offer advice and encouragement, bringing with him a momentary respite from the perpetual sniping. 'Numbers of unfortunates' recorded Florentia Sale, 'have dropped, benumbed with the cold; to be massacred by the enemy: yet so bigoted are our rulers that we are still told that ... Akbar Khan is our friend!' By the end of the third day, Major Eldred Pottinger, Political Agent, and two other officers had been handed over to Akbar as hostages, and the British wives and children had been placed under his 'protection'. The menfolk struggled on and, having lost five of seven guns in a rearguard action in the Khoord-Kabul Pass, suffered severe casualties from the Afghan matchlock men ranged above them as they traversed a deep gorge no more than ten feet wide.

From this deadly defile emerged only seventy men of H.M.'s 44th Regiment, a hundred sowars, and one detachment of horse artillery. After the destruction of the native corps on the 10th, Bygrave attached himself to the 44th and bivouacked with the remnants of the half-starved column in the ruins of Jugdulluck on the following afternoon. A lull in the constant fusillade then heralded the arrival of Akbar who took Elphinstone and his second-in-command, Brigadier Shelton, hostage, and gave his assurance that the column would now be allowed to proceed unmolested to the Indian frontier. No sooner than he had departed, the Afghans redoubled their fire.

Nevertheless, 'Individual acts of heroism', recorded Kaye, 'were not wanting at this time to give something of dignity to even this melancholy retreat.' Collecting 16 or 18 men of the 44th, Bygrave, 'the paymaster of the Caboul Army', placed himself at their head and led a sally which was completely successful in temporarily driving off the enemy. 'But', Kaye continues, 'the little party was soon recalled to the main body, which again retired behind the ruined walls; and again the enemy returned to pour upon them a destructive fire of their terrible jezails.'

On the morning of the 12th, Bygrave led another sally with a small party of the 44th who by his own account 'did their work well, readily and most cheerfully', and dislodged the enemy. A second sally led by Major Thain, Captain Hay and Lieutenant Wade was unsuccessful. The first two were wounded in the face, and Lieutenant Wade was killed.

At nightfall, Bygrave's account continues, '... we gave three hearty cheers, one for our country, one for our Queen and one for Her Majesty's 44th Foot [who] went to the rear, at this period the post of danger, and [I] told the men that I would stay with them to the last if only they would keep together and obey orders. This last, I had ever found them willing to do, but alas, the poor fellows foot-sore, tired and starved were at length unable to turn about and defend themselves, the Afghans having completed their work of blood and blunder at the Barriers [of holly-oak blocking the pass] began to dot the road in our rear, three came up close to me. I shot one, on which the other two fell back when I ordered the rear rank to face about and fire, but I now saw to my sorrow that these brave fellows could scarcely get one leg before another, much more turn to resist an attack, or to defend themselves.'

At this juncture, Bygrave, foreseeing the inevitable destruction of the force, decided to strike out on his own and reach Jellalabad by way of the mountains. He was joined in this hazardous trek by an enterprising Delhi merchant named Baness who had been caught up in the misfortunes of the British at Kabul, and who was equally anxious to put some distance between himself and the pursuing Ghilzai tribesmen.

Subsisting on a diet of dried coffee grains which Baness brought with him, supplemented by the occasional piece of wild liquorice root, they travelled by night and hid by day in the long rushes of the mountain streams or under the thick evergreen shrubs that dotted the snow-capped peaks. Steering a course in the dark soon proved extremely difficult and at one turn they found themselves on a high mountain road where they came upon the freshly despatched and mangled corpse of a European soldier, forcing them to laboriously retrace their steps for many miles. After four tortuous days and nights, Bygrave 'with frost bitten feet, and worn-out shoes' collapsed, telling Baness that he could go no further.

Bygrave suggested that they should find the nearest village and throw themselves on the mercy of the local chief, but Baness, thinking this a reckless course, declared that 'for the sake of his large family' he must go on alone to Jellalabad. Shortly after setting out on his own, Baness was assailed by pangs of guilt and twice returned desperate to urge Bygrave on. His efforts were in vain, and ultimately he reached Jellalabad alone, only to collapse himself and expire.

Awaking from a 'prolonged slumber', Bygrave summoned sufficient strength to reach the village of Kutch Soorkab on the night of the 18th, the second since Baness left him. At daybreak he gave himself up and was taken to the local chief, Nizam Khan, who ultimately handed him over on 15 February to Akbar then encamped at Charbagh and preparing to join the Afghan forces besieging Sir Robert Sale's garrison at Jellalabad. In an 'extremely weak and debilitated state', Bygrave joined Akbar's other European prisoners held in the fort at Buddeehabad on the 23rd and at last received some rudimentary treatment for his frost-bitten toes from Surgeon McGrath of the 37th, who himself had been wounded in the Khoord-Kabul Pass.

McGrath afterwards reported 'On first seeing him mortification had separated the three centre toes of the left foot, and the other two were in such a state that I immediately removed the first joint of the great toe, and the entire of the little one - the foot was very much swollen and inflamed and his sufferings were intense. During his entire stay at Buddehabad [sic] - or from the 10th April - Captain Bygrave was totally unable to move from his couch without assistance. After the 10th April the foot became less painful and the sores [began] to heal gradually, and with the aid of a stick which he is still obliged to use he was enabled to move about a little - Captain Bygrave is of course lame and will continue so through his life.'

From 11 April, a few days after Sale's garrison broke out from Jellalabad, the prisoners were obliged to follow Akbar in his movements, and it occurred to the Khan that Bygrave might be of use to him in the inevitable negotiation of terms. Accordingly Bygrave exchanged places as a potential hostage with Major Pottinger, who was allowed to rejoin the other prisoners on 25 August. On the evening of 11 September he was duly summoned with Captain Troup of H.M.'s 44th to an 'earnest consultation' with Akbar. The British officers assured their captor that his defeat was certain, to which the Khan replied 'I know that I have everything to lose; but it is too late to recede.' He declared that he was indifferent as to the result. The issue of the contest was in the hands of God, and it little mattered to him who was the victor.'



Bygrave, as sketched by Vincent Eyre while prisoners of Akbar Khan

Next morning Akbar sent for Troup and told him that he and Bygrave must accompany him to Khoord-Cabul, where the Afghan chiefs had resolved to make their last stand against Pollock's Army of Revenge. But Pollock (see Lot 21) had been forced to a halt in the Tazeane Pass, and so the Afghan chiefs moved forward, encircling the British camp and deploying their 'jezailchees' on every available height. Bygrave, in the custody of Sir-Bolund Khan, accompanied the chiefs who were decisively beaten and put to rout on the 13th, and he thus became the unwilling companion of Akbar Khan in his flight to the Ghoraband valley.

On 15 September, Pollock established a camp on the Cabul race course and within a week all of the European prisoners, save Bygrave, had been released. The Afghan chiefs were now desperate to sue for peace and Akbar 'perceiving that the further detention of his sole prisoner served no good purpose restored him to his liberty'. Akbar 'would no longer make war upon a single man, and upon one, too, whom he personally respected and esteemed with the respect and esteem due to a man of such fine qualities as Bygrave. So he sent the last remaining prisoner safely into Pollock's camp; and with him sent a letter of conciliation and an agent commissioned to treat for him'. Bygrave finally reached safety on the morning of the 27th, and having endured, what Elphinstone termed 'trials and difficulties almost unprecedented', he was ordered to proceed to Calcutta to settle the accounts of troops employed in Afghanistan.

In 1843, after a good deal of correspondence, Bygrave was granted a special pension equal to that awarded for the loss of a limb, receiving £80 per annum back dated to the fateful 6th of January 1842. He continued as Paymaster until 1853 when he transferred from the list of the 5th N.I. to the newly raised 3rd Bengal European Regiment. Promoted Major in July 1848, and Brevet Colonel in November 1854, he attained the rank of Major-General on his retirement in December 1861, and returned to England, where he died aged 71 years on 9 October 1873, at 4 Mansfield Place, London.

Refs: Hodson Index (NAM); Officers of the Bengal Army 1758-1834; Modern English Biography (Boase); IOL L/MIL/10/24; IOL L/MIL/10/57; A Journal of the Disasters in Afghanistan 1841-2 (Florentia Sale); Retreat from Cabul (Eyre); History of the War in Afghanistan (Kaye).



The important early Indian campaign group to Field-Marshal Sir George Pollock, G.C.B., G.C.S.I., Bengal Artillery, Commander of the 'Army of Retribution' for the recapture of Cabul in 1842, later Director of the H.E.I.C. and Constable of the Tower of London

(a) THE MOST HONOURABLE ORDER OF THE BATH (Military) G.C.B., an impressive privately made Grand Commander's breast star, gold, silver and enamels, the silver rays set with diamonds, the reverse centre engraved 'General Sir Goerge Pollock, G.C.B., K.S.I.', fitted with gold pin for wearing, *lacking a number of stones and enamels chipped in places*

(b) THE MOST EXALTED ORDLR OF THE STAR OF INDIA, G.C.S.I., mantle star by John Hunter, Maddox St., London, silver, gilt and enamel, *this with some chips and cracks*

(c) ARMY OF INDIA 1799-1826, 4 clasps, Battle of Deig, Capture of Deig, Nepaul, Ava (Lieut. Col. G. Pollock Comg. Divn. Arty. Ava.) long hyphen reverse, impressed naming, fitted with silver ribbon buckle

(d) CABUL 1842 (Major Genl. Sir Geo. Pollock, G.C.B.) impressed naming, fitted with scroll suspension

(e) ROYAL MILITARY ACADEMY, POLLOCK PRIZE MEDAL, gold specimen striking of the second type award, 45mm., unnamed

(f) INDIA GENERAL SERVICE 1854-94, 1 clasp, Pegu, silver-gilt glazed specimen, as presented when a Military Member of the Supreme Council, *unless otherwise described, generally very fine or better* (6) £15000-20000



23 medals issued with 4 clasps, only two with this combination of clasps. The other example was awarded to Lieutenant-Colonel T. P. Smith (Ritchie 1-26).

George Pollock was the youngest son of David Pollock of Charing Cross, saddler to King George III, and was born on 4 June 1786. He passed out of Woolwich in the summer of 1803 with a place in the Engineers but chose to serve in the Bengal Artillery and sailed for India in the *Tigris* that September to take part in the Second Mahratta War. Commissioned 'Lieutenant Fireworker' on 14 December 1803, he became Lieutenant on his arrival at Dumdum in April 1804, and in the August following moved to Cawnpore to join the army under Lord Lake, who having defeated Scindia of Gwalior in the Hindustan Campaign of 1803, now faced another great Mahratta chief, Holkar of Indore. From Cawnpore, Pollock marched to Agra where the remnants of the Hon. William Monson's brigade was straggling in after a disastrous rout at the hands of Holkar's host. Pollock, nevertheless proceeded another 30 miles to join Captain Marmaduke Brown's battery at Muttra but soon found himself withdrawing with the detachment at the approach of Holkar's army of 90,000 men. Lake countered the wily Holkar who then in a critical moment for the future of the British in India split his force into two, sending his cavalry to ravage the Doab and his infantry and guns to capture the symbolically important city of Delhi. But due to the heroic defence of Delhi by a small British detachment and the timely arrival of Lake, Holkar was forced to withdraw from the siege, and Pollock next joined the detached force under General Fraser which followed up the enemy to Dieg.

On 13 November Pollock was present at the severe battle fought at that place, his battery of 9-pounders being 'pushed out into the open in front of the Sepoy battalions', whence they carried on 'an unequal combat with the 18 and 12-pounders of the enemy.' At length Holkar's force was beaten and the enemy withdrew into the fortress of Dieg, a possession of the treacherous Raja of Bhurtpoor. On 2 December 1804 Lake united his force before Dieg and on the 17th fire was opened; Pollock serving in the mortar battery. On the night of the 23rd the outworks were captured, and next morning Pollock was detailed to destroy the gates of the citadel, but on reconnoitring that same evening with the Major of Brigade he discovered the enemy had evacuated the place. Lake moved onto Bhurtpoor which was invested on 4 January 1805, and again Pollock saw service in the mortar battery. After four gallant but forlorn and bloody attempts to carry the place by storm, the siege was abandoned. Pollock next took part in the pursuit of Holkar, and on 17 September 1805 was promoted Captain-Lieutenant.

In January 1814 Pollock's offer to serve in the Nepal War was accepted and he joined, as the senior artillery officer, the 4th (Dinapore) Division under the command of Major-General Bennet Marley and, later under 'The Royal Bengal Tiger', Major-General George Wood (see Lot 7). At the close of the 1815 campaign against the Gurkhas, he became Brigade Major, Bengal Artillery, and subsequently Assistant Adjutant-General of the Artillery with the rank of Lieutenant-Colonel. Shortly after the outbreak of the First Burma War, he was ordered to the front, and arrived soon after the capture of Rangoon. In February 1825 he took part operations near that place, commanding the artillery in Sir Willoughby Cotton's division at the capture of Mallown (specially mentioned in despatches). On 9 February 1826 he was present at the defeat of the Burmese between Yebbay and Pagham, and a week later, when the force was within striking distance of Ava, was present at the Burmese surrender. Created a Companion of the Bath for services in Burma, he returned to Europe on sick leave in 1827 and returned to India three years later to become Brigadier-General at Dinapore in 1835, and Major-General, Agra District, in 1838.

Following the great British reverse in Afghanistan in January 1842, Lord Auckland gave Pollock the onerous responsibility of commanding the expedition to save Sale and his besieged troops at Jellalabad and overseeing the withdrawal of the other hard pressed British garrison at Candahar. Accordingly he moved up to Peshwar, taking with him his son Robert (afterwards killed in action at Moodkee) as his A.D.C. But, arriving on 5 February, was unable to proceed further for two months. His preparations had to be perfect. He knew that if he was repulsed in the Khyber Pass, his first obstacle, the thought would take firm hold in the minds of many would-be adversaries that the East India Company

was dangerously vulnerable; the Sikhs, who were supposedly his allies in the venture, being among them. Pollock, however, suffered no illusions as to the reliability of the latter, and even reported that he had 'no expectation of any assistance from the Sikh troops.' There was also a great deal of sickness among his troops, and at one point in Peshawar he had nearly 2,000 men in hospital. Furthermore the Bengal sepoys were demoralised at the thought of entering Afghanistan. A British officer with the force summed up the mood, by saying, 'The Sikh soldiery at Peshawar, and Mussulman inhabitants of the city evinced unequivocal satisfaction at the discomfiture of our arms [and] a sneer was in the expression of many countenances around us and not a few of the bystanders were heard to speak to us as 'food for the Khyber.'

Finally, on 31 March Pollock marched with his force of 8,000 men to Jamrood, where he reduced the army's baggage to a minimum, and was himself content to share a tent with two officers of his staff. Having completed his meticulous preparations, and having inspired the sepoys and acquainted every officer with his duty, Pollock moved against on the Pass on 5 April 1842. The enemy, estimated at 10,000 men, had constructed a formidable barrier across the valley floor and had taken up strong positions behind redoubts built on the high ground to the right and the left of the pass. But Pollock, 'using the tactics of the Afghans themselves', deployed flanking columns to seize the heights, while he moved along the valley with the advance guard. For the first time the astonished Afghans found themselves shot down from above, and at a cost of only fourteen British lives the Khyber was swept and the enemy fled. Pollock pushed on to the abandoned stronghold Ali Musjid, some five miles up the pass and occupied it.

On 6 April Pollock was detained at Ali Musjid when it was found that the Sikhs had failed to secure the line of communication with Peshawar, but on the 7th he advanced again to Ghari Lala Beg, and meeting with trifling opposition, reached Landikhana. He then proceeded to Daka and, emerging from the pass, formed a camp at Lalpura where Saadut Khan made an effort to oppose him but was driven off. Meanwhile at Jellalabad Sale and his senior officers had been extended an offer by the weakling Shah Soojah to capitulate to the besieging forces of Akbar Khan, to which they had issued the crushing request that he should address himself to General Pollock, the commander of H.M.'s troops in Afghanistan. A few days later Shah Soojah was lured from the walled fastness of the Bala Hissar in Cabul 'for talks' with Afghan chiefs but was riddled with bullets instead. Finally at Jellalabad with stocks of food and ammunition running dangerously low Sale was persuaded by senior officers to effect their own relief by sallying forth in an all out attack against Akbar. The latter was successful, and on 16 April when Pollock marched into Jellalabad he was greeted by the band of H.M.'s 13th Foot playing the old Jacobite air *Oh! But You've Been a Lang a' Coming*.

In Calcutta, Lord Auckland had been replaced by Lord Ellenborough, who hawkish at first had determined that the Afghans must be taught a lesson, but who now began to get cold feet. Anxious about the draining cost of operations in Afghanistan and possibly fearing another catastrophe, he ordered Pollock and General Nott, who had successfully conducted a fluid defence around Candahar all winter, to return with their troops to India. Ellenborough argued that the release of the European prisoners taken during the retreat from Cabul could be better negotiated in a calmer atmosphere. Pollock disagreed and wrote to Nott telling him on no account to withdraw. A battle of wills developed between Pollock, who wanted blood retribution, and the new Governor-General who wanted a quiet life. Gradually Pollock gained the support of senior military officers both in India and at home, and he successfully prevaricated, producing a succession of excuses – weather, supply shortages, money, etc – in order to delay the withdrawal of the two garrisons while pressure grew on Ellenborough to change his mind. At length the Duke of Wellington, a member of the Cabinet, intervened and warned Ellenborough, 'It is impossible to impress upon you too strongly the notion of the importance of restoration of the reputation in the East.' Ellenborough at last gave way and, without altering his order to evacuate Afghanistan, he told Pollock and Nott that they might, if they judged it militarily expedient, 'retire by way of Cabul'. Neither Pollock nor Nott complained that the responsibility had been shifted on to their shoulders, and a race began between the two to be the first into Cabul, although Nott's men had by far the furthest to march – some 300 miles against Pollock's hundred.

Pollock had not been inactive in the matter of the European hostages who included Sales's wife and daughter, and on 2 August he had received at Jellalabad Captains Lawrence and Troup who had been sent out from Cabul by Akbar with the latter's terms. Pollock was however obliged to send the two officers back to captivity as he refused to agree to retire as Akbar now feverishly wished. On 20 August Pollock advanced towards Gandamak leaving a detachment to hold Mamu Khel and Kuchli Khel, and then out of their adjoining camp. Having dished out some retribution to the villagers of Mamu Khel, and posted a strong detachment at Gandamak, Pollock advanced again with two brigades under Sale and McCaskill (see Lot 32). On 8 September the enemy were encountered strongly positioned as breastworks studded around the natural amphitheatre of the Jagdalek Pass, but after a fierce shelling were forced out by Sale's men. Pollock, having rejected Sale's advice to give the men a rest, pushed immediately on, thus denying the enemy a chance to rally, and reached Tazeane on 11 September. Akbar, learning that Pollock had halted, at once set out to attack him and opened fire on the afternoon of the 12th.

'Pollock immediately attacked the enemy, some five hundred of who had taken post along the crest and upon the summit of a range of steep hills running from the northward into the Tazeane valley. They were taken by surprise, and driven headlong down the hills. Hostilities were suspended by the approach of night. At dawn preparations were made for forcing the Tezin Pass, a most formidable pass, some four miles in length. The Afghans numbering some twenty thousand men, had occupied every height and crag not already crowned by the British. Sale, with whom was Pollock, commanded the advanced guard. The enemy were driven from post to post, contesting every step, but overcome by repeated bayonet charges. At length Pollock gained complete possession of the pass.' But the fight was not over, and the Afghans fell back on Haft Kotal, 'an almost impregnable position on hills 7,800 feet above sea level', and the last they could hope to defend before Cabul. The Army of Retribution, however, having become accustomed to victory delivered another crushing blow, and opened the way to the Afghan capital.

A sombre march through the Khoord Cabul, passed the bleached skeletons of Elphinstone's army which lay so thick on the ground that they had to be cleared aside to allow the gun carriages through, followed, and, on the morning of the 16th Pollock raised the Union flag over the Bala Hissar. Nott to his chagrin arrived next morning and for some days refused to speak to Pollock or assist in operations. Pollock, whose amiability was never in doubt understood, left his subordinate to sulk undisturbed. Later the same day Pollock despatched a cavalry detachment to secure the release of the hostages at Bamian, but it was soon found that they had managed to effect their own release with large bribes. Pollock then ascertained that the remnants of Akbar's army had assembled under Amir Ullah Khan at Istaliffe in the Cabul highlands, which place was duly razed to the ground by a strong force under McCaskill. Pollock, having freed some 2,000 of Elphinstone's Indian camp followers and Sepoys enslaved in Cabul, looked about him determined to make one last gesture 'of reputation' and his eyes fell on the celebrated Char Chutter, the Great Bazaar built in the reign of Aurungzebe by the renowned Ali Mardan Khan. Here Sir William Macnaghten's head and mutilated body had been exhibited, and without delay Pollock ordered its destruction.

With winter approaching Pollock commenced the long withdrawal to India which was reached after further stiff fighting. On 19 December 1842 Pollock crossed the Sutlej to the British frontier station of Ferozepore where he was received by Lord Ellenborough and 'Banquets and fetes were the order of the day'. For his widely acclaimed services in Afghanistan, Pollock was created a G.C.B. and in the 1842 session of Parliament was voted the thanks of both Houses. Furthermore, a medal, the Pollock Medal, was instituted in his honour at the Company's Military Seminary, Addiscombe, to be given to the most promising Cadet at the examination for commissions. He continued to serve in India as commander of the Dinapore Division; as Resident at Lucknow; and finally as Military Member of the Supreme Council, before returning to England and receiving many further honours including his baton in 1870, a G.C.S.I on the institution of the order in 1861, and a baronetcy on March 1872 with the signal distinction, 'of the Khyber Pass'. In 1871 Pollock was appointed Constable of the Tower and Lieutenant and Custos Rotulorum of the Tower Hamlets. He died at Walmer on 6 October 1872, and was buried with full honours in Westminster Abbey.

Refs: Dictionary of National Biography; The Life and Correspondence of Field Marshal Sir George Pollock, C.R. Low, 1873.



The fine early Indian campaign group to General Sir James Alexander, K.C.B., Colonel Commandant, R.H.A., late Bengal Artillery

(a) THE MOST HONOURABLE ORDER OF THE BATH (Military) K.C.B., Knight Commander's set of insignia, comprising neck badge, 18 carat gold and enamels, hallmarked London 1870, maker's mark RG for Robert Garrard; and breast star, silver, gold and enamels, the reverse plate inscribed R & S. Garrard & Co., Goldsmiths & Jewellers to the Crown, 25 Haymarket, London, fitted with gold pin for wearing, the star with small chip to blue enamel by 'Dien' of motto

(b) ARMY OF INDIA 1799-1826, 1 clasp, Bhurtpooor (Lieutt. J. Alexander, (1st) Regt. of Arty.) long hyphen reverse, naming officially engraved in running script

(c) CABUL 1842 (Capt. and Brevt. Lieutt. Coll. J. Alexander, 3rd Troop 2nd Brigade Horse Arty.) fitted with original steel clip and contemporary silver bar suspension and ribbon buckle

(d) MAHARAJPOOR STAR 1843 (Captain and Brevt. Lieutt. Coll. J. Alexander, 3rd Troop 2nd Brigade Horse Artillery) fitted with contemporary silver bar suspension and ribbon buckle

(e) Sutlej 1845-46, for Aliwal 1846, 1 clasp, Sobraon (Bt. Lieut. Col. J. Alexander, 2nd Brigade H. Ay.) unless otherwise described, nearly extremely fine (6)

£4000-5000



Ex Tamplin collection, Sotheby, February 1985.

James Alexander, the ward of Dr Daniel Alexander of London Docks, was born in Lambeth on 14 January 1803, and educated at Mr Fennel's Manor House School.

He was nominated for the Bengal Artillery by William Wigram, M.P., and was admitted into the Company's Military Academy at Addiscombe in January 1819.

On 16 June 1820 he was appointed 2nd Lieutenant and arrived in India the following February. Promoted Lieutenant in April 1824, he became Adjutant and Quartermaster of two companies of Bengal Artillery at Sagar. The next year he was posted to the newly-raised 2nd Troop, 3rd Brigade, Bengal Horse Artillery, and went on to serve at the Siege and Capture of Bhurtpoor in December 1825 and January 1826, and duly received a share of the Prize. Later that year he transferred to the 3rd Troop, 2nd Brigade, at Meerut, and on 11 April was appointed Superintendent of the Horse Artillery Depot at Dum Dum. This latter appointment was cut short in November when he was sent to England on sick furlough.

Alexander returned to India in 1832 and was advanced to Brevet Captain in 1835. In June the following year he was appointed Adjutant and Quartermaster of the 3rd Brigade, Horse Artillery. During 1837 and 1838 he served briefly with the 2nd Company, 3rd Battalion, before being appointed to the command of his former troop, 3.2 H.A.

During the latter stages of the First Afghan War, Alexander led 3.2 H.A. on active service as part of a force assembled under Major-General Sir George Pollock (see Lot 21) to relieve Sale's garrison at Jellalabad, and was engaged at the forcing of the Khyber Pass on 5 April 1842. After a considerable delay at Jellalabad, Pollock marched on Cabul in mid August and, continually harassed by the predatory hill tribes, engaged the enemy *en masse* in the Tazeane Pass on 13 September. Lieutenant-Colonel Richmond, commanding the rear-guard reported in his despatch that threatened by a large body of enemy cavalry '...with the evident intention of moving towards my post. I instantly decided on anticipating him, and as Capt. Alexander's three guns were still on the ground, I availed myself of his services, by sending forward his guns within range of the enemy, supported by the front squadron of H.M.'s 3rd Light Dragoons'... 'one squadron of the 1st Light Cavalry'... 'and the detachment of 3rd Irregular Cavalry'... 'with orders to charge the enemy if the ground proved favourable and an opportunity offered. This soon occurred, the guns having made good impression.' (*London Gazette* 24 November 1842). Akbar Khan was so completely beaten in this action that Cabul was re-occupied without further opposition. For his services in Afghanistan, Alexander was gazetted Brevet Major on 23 December 1842.

Alexander and 3.2 H.A. were next called to serve in the Gwalior Campaign and took part in Sir Hugh Gough's victory over the Mahrattas at the Battle of Maharajpore on 29 December 1843. Brigadier Gowan commanding the Artillery said in his despatch '...nothing could exceed the steadiness and determined resolution, under a long sustained and heavy fire from the enemy, of 2.2 Horse Artillery under Capt Grant, and 3.2 Horse Artillery under Major Alexander. Both troops moved to within 500 yards of the enemy, drove him from his guns, followed him up and destroyed a great number.' Gough likewise reported, 'I witnessed with much pride the rapidity of movement of the three troops of Horse Artillery [2.2, 2.3 & 3.2] which bore a conspicuous part in the well contested action; their leaders promptly brought them forward in every available position and the precision of their fire was admirable' (*London Gazette* 8 March 1844).

Rewarded with promotion by Brevet to Lieutenant-Colonel on 30 April 1844, Alexander was stationed with his troop at Meerut until December 1845 when 3.2 H.A. was ordered on active service after the Sikh army crossed the Sutlej. Alexander again gave distinguished service at Badhowal, Aliwal and Sohraon and was mentioned in Sir Harry Smith's despatch from the field of Aliwal, dated 30 January 1846 (*London Gazette* 27 March 1846), and was nominated a C.B. (*London Gazette* 30 June 1846). In 1848, Alexander was appointed in command of the 2nd Battalion, B.A., and held various regimental posts over the course of the next six years. Promoted Major-General in 1856, his last appointment in India was as Brigadier 2nd Class at Lucknow on the eve of the Mutiny. On the amalgamation of the Royal and H.E.I.C. Artilleries in 1861, Alexander became Major-General on the combined Regimental List. He was made Lieutenant-General in 1868, and was Colonel-Commandant of 'F' Brigade, R.H.A. between 1874 and 1877. Created a K.C.B. on 20 May 1871, he was finally promoted General on 1 August 1872. He was the father of Captain James Alexander (see Lot 58), and died at 35 Bedford Place, Russell Square on 6 June 1888.

Refs: Hodson Index (NAM); Modern English Biography (Boase); IOL L/MIL/25, 56 & 65; Military Historical Society Bulletin, Vol. IX, No. 36, May 1956.



A rare Defence of Kelat-I-Ghilzie medal to Bombardier Michael Shaughnessy, Bengal Artillery

DEFENCE OF KELAT-I-GHILZIE 1842 (Bombardier Michael Shaughnessy, 4th Compy. 2nd Battn. Arty.) naming officially engraved in running script, fitted with replacement silver clip and bar suspension, *minor edge nicks and bruises, otherwise good very fine and very rare* £4000-5000

Ex Whitaker Collection 1890.

A total of only 55 medals awarded to European recipients, including one officer and 43 men from the 4th Company 2nd Battalion, Bengal Artillery.

Following the disastrous retreat of the British from Cabul in January 1842, Ghuznee was retaken by the Afghans, and the isolated garrison at Kelat-i-Ghilzie was invested. The garrison consisted of 600 of the Shah's 3rd Infantry, three companies of the 43rd N.I., totalling 247 men, forty-four European and twenty-two native artillery, twenty-three Bengal Sappers and Miners, and seven British officers, all under Captain John Halkett Craigie.

The total strength of the garrison of Kelat-i-Ghilzie, situated about eighty miles north east of Candahar, was fifty-five Europeans and 877 natives. In spite of 'cold and privation unequalled by any of the troops in Afghanistan' the garrison put up a successful defence through the whole winter till relieved on 26 May 1842. On the 21st May, however, the garrison had repulsed a particularly determined attack by some 6,000 Afghans:

'Khelat-i-Ghilzai was attacked at a quarter before four o'clock', reported Craigie, 'The enemy advanced to the assault in the most determined manner, each column consisting of upwards of 2,000 men, provided with 30 scaling ladders, but after an hour's fighting were repulsed and driven down the hill, losing five standards, one of which was planted three times in one of the embrasures ... The greatest gallantry and coolness were displayed by every commissioned and non-commissioned officer, and private (both European and Native) engaged in meeting the attack of the enemy, several of whom were bayoneted on top of the sandbags forming our parapets ...'

Colonel Wymer and his relieving force consequently were only engaged in destroying the defences and caring for the sick and wounded, until the 1st of June when they returned to Candahar.

Michael Shaughnessy enlisted at Limerick on January 1827 for unlimited service in the East India Company's Artillery. A native of Askeating, County Limerick, he was then aged 22 years. He joined the E.I.C. recruit depot at Brompton Barracks, Chatham, on 24 February 1827, and having been allocated to Bengal, sailed for India in the *Parmelia* on 13 June 1827. On arrival at Calcutta in early December, he was posted as 1783 Gunner, Bengal Foot Artillery. Michael Shaughnessy appears in the muster for 1 September 1842 as Bombardier, 4th Company 2nd Battalion Bengal Artillery. He was invalided to the Bengal Artillery Invalid Battalion at Chunar on 21 September 1844, where he was struck off 'for Europe' in October 1853.

Refs: IOL L/MIL/9/30; L/MIL/10/123; L/MIL/10/163; The Military Engineer in India (Sandes); Sieges and Defences of Fortified Places, Royal Engineers Journal, Vol XX, 1914.



A scarce Afghan War and Scinde campaign pair to Major R. B. Brett, 1st (or Leslie's) Troop, Bombay Horse Artillery

(a) GHUZNEE CABUL 1842 (Lieutt. R. B. Brett, 1st Troop Horse Brigade Bombay Arty.) fitted with original steel clip and bar suspension

(b) HYDERABAD 1843 (Lieutenant R. B. Brett, 1st or Leslie's Troop H.A.) fitted with silver clip and steel bar suspension, contact marks and edge bruising, otherwise very fine (2) £1200-1500

Reginald Best Brett was the third son of the Rev George Brett of Ulcombe Rectory, Kent, and sometime incumbent of the Hanover Chapel, Regent Street, London, and his wife Dorothy, the daughter of George Best, M.P., of Chilton Park, Kent. Brett was born on 12 July 1820 and was educated at St Peter's Grammar School, Eaton Square, and at Addiscombe. He was commissioned Second Lieutenant in the Bombay Artillery in December 1839, and attached to the 1st Battalion at Ahmednuggur. In 1841 he was temporarily attached to the 1st Troop, Bombay Horse Artillery, which he accompanied to Poona in order to join the 4th Troop, Horse Artillery. On 10 November 1841, however, he was appointed Adjutant to the detachment of Bombay Artillery with Major General Nott's force at Candahar.

In early 1843, he was next attached to Captain Leslie's Troop and was sent with 4,500 men into Scinde to reinforce Sir Charles Napier's small force at Hyderabad. On 24 March, Brett was present when Napier marched ten miles into the outlying country at the head of 5,000 men and 19 guns to confront 26,000 Baluchis under Shere Mahomed at Dubba. Despite the skilfully selected Baluchi position the enemy were swiftly driven off by the infantry advancing under harassing fire laid down by the artillery. The tribesmen were forced back from one nullah to another and finally pushed out into the open where they were repeatedly charged by the cavalry and horse artillery. In the Battle of Hyderabad, British losses amounted to 270 officers and men against 5,000 Baluchi dead.

In 1844, he was appointed to take charge of the Engineers' Office at Poona, and the following year became Adjutant and Quarter-master of the 2nd Battalion, Bombay Artillery. In 1846 he was given charge of the horses of the 2nd Company, 3rd Battalion, relinquishing that post in April 1847, when he was temporarily attached to the service of His Highness the Nizam of Hyderabad. His appointment was, however, cancelled in June, and he returned to 2/3 Bombay Artillery. Brett was advanced to the rank of Captain on 17 August 1851 and, in 1852, took part in the expedition to Roree against Ali Morad. The following year he was appointed Local Major in the Ottoman Dominions. Appointed Resident Agent at Constantinople for the Turkish Contingent, his brevet rank was confirmed on disbandment of that contingent in June 1856. Major Brett died suddenly at sea on board the *Eastern Monarch* on 13 February 1859.

Refs: Hodson Index (NAM); IOL L/MIL/12/72; IOL L/MIL/12/82; IOL L/MIL/9/187.



The unique First Afghan War and M.S.M. group to Sergeant-Major Michael Brown, H.M.'s 13th (Somerset) Light Infantry

(a) GHUZNEE 1839 (Serjt. Major M. Brown, 13 PALI) regimentally engraved naming, fitted with silver ribbon buckle inscribed "Chuznee 23rd July 1839"

(b) DEFENCE OF JELLALABAD 1842, Flying Victory (Serjt. Maj. Ml. Brown, 13th Regt.) officially impressed naming, fitted with silver ribbon buckle inscribed "Jellalabad 7th April 1842"

(c) CABUL 1842 (Serjt. Major Ml. Brown, 13th Lt. Infy.) regimentally engraved naming, fitted with replacement scroll suspension and silver ribbon buckle inscribed "Cabool 1842"

(d) MERITORIOUS SERVICE MEDAL, V.R. (Serjt. Maj. Michael Brown, 13th regt. 1847) officially impressed naming, fitted with silver ribbon buckle inscribed "Meritorious Services", edge bruising and contact marks *but generally nearly very fine and a very rare group* (4) £4000-5000

Ex Glendining December 1901, 'a unique group of medals of the highest interest' (£41), and Stewart Collection 1915.

M.S.M. awarded on 29 November 1847, together with an Annuity of £20. The first 107 awards of the M.S.M. were dated 1847 on the edge.

Michael Brown was born in the Parish of Lillylish, Co. Down, and attested for the 10th Foot at Newry on 4 January 1823. He transferred to the 13th Foot in July 1825 and served with that regiment until his final discharge on 29 November 1847. He was promoted to Sergeant in August 1836, to Sergeant-Major in March 1843, and served abroad in the East Indies from July 1826 until July 1843.

According to Brown's discharge documents, he 'served with the Army of the Indus during the campaigns in Afghanistan in the years 1838, 39, 40, 41, & 42. Present at the storming of Ghuznee in July 1839 and the Forts of Tootumdurra and Julgah in Kohistan in 1840; present in the several engagements in forcing the passes from Cabool to Jellalabad in 1841 and in defence of the latter Fortress in 1841, 42. Present in the General Action at Jellalabad 7th April 1842, at Jugdullock 8th September, Tazeen 13th September and recapture of Cabool 15th September 1842'.

'Is in possession of three medals viz: For the storming of Ghuznee, General action at Jellalabad, and occupation of Cabool. Received an Annuity £20 from 1st April 1846 under the Royal Warrant of the 19th December 1845, as a reward for his Good Conduct since his entry into Her Majesty's Service.'

Ref: WO 97/341.



The Scinde campaign medal for the battle of Meeanee to Private John McDonald, 22nd Regiment

MEEANEE 1843 (John McDonald, 22nd Regt.) naming engraved in the correct style, fitted with silver clip and bar suspension, *very fine and rare* £800-1000

The medal roll confirms as one of only 65 recipients of the medal with the Meeanee reverse to the 22nd, most of whom were either killed or wounded in the action and thus not present at the battle of Hyderabad.

John McDonald was subsequently promoted to Corporal and was still serving in March 1844 but no discharge documents have been located for him.



The rare Scinde campaign medal for the battle of Meeanee to Acting Master W. T. Cole, Indian Marine, commanding the Honourable Company's Vessel *Planet*

MEEANEE 1843 (W: T: Cole Act. Mr. Com. H:C:V: Planet) officially impressed naming, fitted with original German silver bar suspension, *small edge bruise and minor contact marks, otherwise good very fine and rare*
£3000-3500

Only 32 medals with the Meeanee reverse issued to European recipients aboard the *Planet* (16), with Cole in command, and the *Satellite* (16). Of these, four recipients from the *Planet* and five from the *Satellite* failed to claim their medals. These were returned to the India Office and probably melted down, leaving as few as twenty-three medals actually issued. Cole's medal was despatched to India in 1850.

W. T. Cole was appointed Acting Master in the Indian Marine on 31 January 1841 and placed in command of the Honourable Company's Vessel *Planet* on 31 March 1842. The *Planet*, a 397-ton iron river gunboat built at Bombay in 1840, was employed with the Indus Flotilla of six vessels, under Captain A. H. Nott, Indian Navy. The flotilla was used to convey Sir Charles Napier's army from Sukkur to the left bank of the Indus. Thereafter, the 60 horse-power *Planet*, together with the H.C.V. *Satellite*, was detached to accompany the army on its march to Hyderabad and prevent hostile bands from cutting communications.

On 15 February 1843, the *Planet* was moored on the river about five hundred yards from the British Residency at Hyderabad, when the building was attacked at about nine o'clock in the morning by 8,000 Baluchis with six guns under Meer Shahdad Khan, one of the principal Amirs of Scinde. The Residency was defended on three sides by the Light Company of the 22nd Regiment, under Captain Thomas Conway (Ritchie 1/64), while on the fourth or river side its approaches were covered by *Planet*'s two 6-pounder pivot guns. Although heavily outnumbered and limited, according to the Resident, Major James Outram, to fifty rounds per man, the defenders in the Residency compound held off repeated attacks assisted by Cole, who directed a flanking fire from the *Planet*, for three hours. It was hoped that the *Satellite* would come up with reinforcements and ammunition, but when the vessel appeared, it was ascertained that she carried neither. At about 11 a.m., Outram told Conway that he required one hour in which to destroy important papers, and once this was completed the order was given to retire to the steamers.

Covered by a small rear guard, Outram's Escort carrying their dead and wounded with them fell back across the marshes to the vessels. On reaching the river bank, Outram ordered the *Satellite* to proceed up stream to the 'wood station' to procure a sufficiency of fuel lest the enemy should arrive their first and set fire to it. Cole's *Planet* meanwhile took in tow a barge moored to the shore. 'This', wrote Outram later that day in his report to Napier, 'being a work of some time, during which a hot fire was opened on the vessel from three guns which the enemy brought to bear on her, besides small arms, and requiring much personal exposure of the crew (especially of Mr Cole, the commander of the vessel). I deem it my duty to bring to your favourable notice their zealous exertions on the occasion, and also to express my obligation to Messrs. Miller [commander of the *Satellite*] and Cole for the flanking fire they maintained on the enemy during their attacks on the Agency, and for their support during the retirement and embarkation of the troops' (*London Gazette* 7 April 1843).

Both vessels were harried by the enemy, who pursued for about three miles and occasionally opened up their guns, but at length, the steamers got clear and reached Napier's camp at Hala. Next day, Napier, having decided to attack the enemy at Meeanee on the 17th, detached a force of 200 Sepoys under Outram in the *Planet* and the *Satellite* to set fire to a wood in which the enemy's left flank was thought to be posted. The operation was carried out at about 9 o'clock without difficulty, although it was later learnt that the enemy had moved some eight miles to the right during the night. Nevertheless, Napier considered the incendiarism had 'some effect on the enemy'. Between January 1844 and April 1846, Cole was employed at Bombay.

Refs: IOL L/MAR/C/707; IOL L/MIL/5/66; History of the Indian Navy (Low); Sind Historical Society Journal, Vol V; Medals awarded to the Indian Navy for the Sind Campaign 1843 (Bullock).



The Scinde campaign medal for the battle of Hyderabad to Acting Gunner Richard White, E.I.C. Steamer *Meteor*

HYDERABAD 1843 (R: White Act: Gr. E:I:C:Sr. *Meteor*) officially impressed naming, fitted with original German silver bar suspension, good very fine and rare £2500-3000

Ex Whalley 1877 and Payne 1910.

Only 50 medals with the Hyderabad reverse issued to European recipients aboard the *Meteor* (16), *Comet* (17) and *Nimrod* (17). However, twenty-one of these medals were not claimed by the recipients and were subsequently returned to the India Office. According to a note on the medal roll, White's medal, together with examples for the *Meteor* and *Nimrod*, was "Given to Mr Stewart Mackenzie [a well-known collector of medals] in exchange for a new medal by permission of Lord G. Hamilton 24.4.77". The remaining eighteen returned medals were in all probability melted down, leaving as few as 32 medals actually issued.

Richard White, a Londoner, is recorded in the List of European Seamen in the Indian Navy Establishment up to 31 December 1842 as being 34 years of age and belonging to the H.C.V. *Meteor*. He arrived from England in the *Lady East* in 1840, and received the Hon. Company's Bounty on 18 February of that year. He signed on for five years service, but died at Sakhen on 20 September 1843.

Ref: IOL L/MAR/C/745; Medals awarded to the Indian Navy for the Sind Campaign 1843 (Bullock).



The Scinde campaign medal for the battles of Meeanee and Hyderabad to Jooddee Jaddoo, Scinde Camel Battery

MEEANEE HYDERABAD 1843 (Jooddee Jaddoo, Camel Baty.) impressed naming, fitted with original silver clip and bar suspension, *handling marks, otherwise nearly extremely fine*

£300-350



The Scinde campaign medal for the battle of Hyderabad to Lieutenant W. E. Wilkinson, 21st Bombay Native Infantry, who was wounded at Dubba

HYDERABAD 1843 (Lieutt. W. E. Wilkinson, 21st Regt. N.I.) engraved naming, fitted with original silver clip and bar suspension, *light edge bruising, otherwise good very fine* £1000-1200

William Eastfield Wilkinson was the son of the Rev Marmaduke Wilkinson, rector of Redgrave, Suffolk, and his third wife Sarah Shelley. He was baptised at Redgrave on 17 April 1819, and was educated at Bury Grammar School and at Addiscombe, 1835-37. He arrived at Bombay on 21 January 1838, and was posted to the 21st Bombay Native Infantry. Promoted Lieutenant on 23 April 1840, he became Adjutant in September 1842, and the following year took part with his regiment in Sir Charles Napier's Scinde Campaign. At the Battle of Hyderabad, on 24 March 1843, in which his regiment was employed in the 2nd Brigade under Major Alexander Woodburn (see Lot 31), he fortuitously chose to wear a Horse Artillery helmet, and took part in the infantry assault against 26,000 Baluchis positioned in two nullahs near the village of Dubba, where thanks to his unorthodox headgear, he was only slightly wounded.

'Capt. Stevens reports that Lt. Wilkinson came to the front to support him as he was leading the 21st Regt. over the centre ridge in the canal which formed the Enemy's position, & seeing a man, who has since been ascertained to be Meer Goolam Alli Talpooree, coming at him, sword in hand, [Wilkinson] stepped in between and cut him down in doing which he received a wound on the head which cut through his pugree and displaced the metal peak of a horse Artillery helmet & must have killed him but for this defence and he also got wounded in the sword arm' (*Calcutta Gazette* 27 May 1843 & *London Gazette* 4 August 1843).

A note on his Statement of Service for 1844, records 'Not[ed] for special brevet promotion, or the honor of the Bath for services in Scinde, the Duke of Wellington recommended him to Court's protection.' Wilkinson was appointed Adjutant of the Left Wing of the 21st in February 1847, and the following April was made Brigade Major at Rajcote. In March 1848, he was in some unspecified way involved 'in the misconduct of the 21 N.I. at the Hoollee festival in March 48,' causing the Government to 'consider the censure pressed upon him by the C-in-C to be most fully deserved & have caused it to be intimated to him that until by his future good conduct he has retrieved his character he will not be permitted any mark of the favourable notice of Government'. Lieutenant Wilkinson died at Tamiah on 25 June 1851, aged 32 years, and left a widow, Mary Alicia.

Refs: Hodson Index (NAM); IOL L/MIL/12/71.



The Scinde campaign medal for the battle of Hyderabad to LMajor-General Alexander Woodburn, 25th Bombay Native Infantry, who was awarded the C.B. for services in the Scinde

HYDERABAD 1843 (Major A. Woodburn, 25th Regt.) engraved naming, fitted with original silver clip and bar suspension, *about good very fine* £1400-1800

Alexander Woodburn, a farmer's son, was born on 18 January 1803, in the parish of Mauchline, Kilmarnock, and was nominated a Cadet of Infantry for the Bombay Establishment by R. Plowden, Esq., on the recommendation of Sir James Shaw, Bart. Posted Ensign in the 12th Bombay Native Infantry on 11 February 1821, and promoted Lieutenant the following July, he was appointed Interpreter to the 11th N.I. in 1824. In 1826 he was detailed to do duty with a company of pioneers under the Executive Engineer's Department in Candeish. Following further employ as an Interpreter and Fort Adjutant at Ahmednuggur, he was appointed Adjutant of the 25th N.I. Promoted Captain in February 1836, he was appointed to carry out Commissariat duties at Dapoollee in 1837, and afterwards served as Paymaster to the Poona Division.

In April 1842, he was employed in Afghanistan in command of a 'Light Battalion' and participated in operations under Major-General England in Pisheen. In 1847, he submitted a memorial to the Commander-in-Chief asking him to confer the Candahar Medal on the men of the 25th N.I., but he was, however, turned down in his application. Advanced to the rank of Major in February 1843, he took part in the conquest of Scinde and commanded a brigade at the Battle of Hyderabad on 24 March. Sir Charles Napier reported: ... the 2nd Brigade under command of Major Woodburn was brought into action with excellent coolness. It consisted of the 25th, 21st, and 12th Regts. under the command of Captns. Jackson, Stevens and Fisher respectively (*London Gazette* 6 June 1843).

Following this victory, Woodburn secured the sandstone fortress of Oomercote without firing a shot (*London Gazette* 4 July 1843). For his services in Scinde he was appointed Lieutenant-Colonel and made a Companion of the Bath. In January 1849, Woodburn was appointed to command the fortress of Asseerghur. He became Colonel on 1 January 1854, and in March was appointed a Brigadier, 1st Class, in command of the Rajpootana Field Force. In May 1855, he was made Major-General, and following the outbreak of the Mutiny two years later, was appointed to the command of a moveable column in the Deccan Field Force, but was obliged to relinquish that post through ill health on 14 July 1857. General Woodburn died at Ahmedabad on 28 September 1860.

Refs: Hodson Index (NAM); IOL L/MIL/12/69; IOL L/MIL/12/77; IOL L/MIL/12/80.



The important campaign pair to Major-General Sir John McCaskill, K.C.B., K.H., 9th Foot, Commanding the 3rd Infantry Division in Sir Hugh Gough's Army of the Sutlej and killed in action at Moodkee

(a) CABUL 1842, unnamed as issued, fitted with original steel clip and bar suspension

(b) SUTLEJ 1845-46, for Moodkee 1845 (Major Genl. Sir John McCaskill K:C:B: K:H:) *extremely fine* (2)

£5000-6000



John McCaskill was born in Invernesshire on 4 December 1779 and entered the Army on 10 March 1797 as an Ensign in H.M.'s 53rd Regiment of Foot. He joined the 53rd in the West Indies and served in Sir Ralph Abercromby's expedition against Porto Rico, which was abandoned after the failure to take the Castle of St Juan in May 1797. On 14 May 1801, he was promoted Lieutenant, and returned home with the 53rd Foot in 1802. In April 1805 McCaskill sailed for Bengal in the East Indiaman *Devonshire*, and, on 6 August, took part in the repulse of three French warships under Admiral Linois in the Indian Ocean. The 1/53rd Foot landed at Calcutta on 11 September and marched into quarters at Dinapore. McCaskill became Captain in March 1806, and served at various stations in the Upper Provinces until December 1813 when he came home on furlough. During his first stay in India he was twice employed on field service, in Bundelkhund in 1809-10 against the Chief of Ajaigarh, and in 1811 also in Bundelkhund. Returning to India in 1816, he rejoined the 53rd at Bangalore, and the following year was attached to the Madras Flank Battalion with whom he served during the Third Mahratta War, taking part in the captures of Satara, Singarh, Wasota and many other forts. He was also present at the defeat of 6,000 Mahrattas under the walls of Sholapur on 10 May 1818 and at the subsequent siege and reduction of that place. On 12 August 1819, he was promoted Brevet Major, and returned to England with the 53rd Foot in July 1823.

Three years later he exchanged successively into the 86th Foot and then the 89th Foot as Lieutenant-Colonel, joining the latter regiment at St Thomas' Mount in 1827. He returned home again in 1831, transferred to the 98th Regiment, and re-embarked for Cape Colony in 1833, where he served eighteen months. In June 1835 he exchanged from the 98th to the 9th Foot and, proceeding to Bengal, joined that regiment in February 1836 at Chinsura. The next year he was created a Knight of the Hanoverian Guelphic Order and appointed Brigadier on the establishment. On 28 June 1838, while commanding at Meerut, he was made Colonel by Brevet and local Major-General. In October 1840, he reverted to the command of the 9th Foot, but en route for service in Afghanistan was appointed Brigadier commanding the 1st Infantry Brigade in the force under Sir George Pollock (see Lot 21) and the command of the 9th Foot devolved on Lieutenant-Colonel A. B. Taylor (qv). In February McCaskill was further advanced to Major-General and given command of Pollock's infantry division of four brigades. After the forcing of the Khyber Pass on 5 April, Pollock recorded his satisfaction thus: 'From Major-General McCaskill commanding the Infantry Division, who was on this occasion commanding the rear-guard, I received every assistance' (*London Gazette* 7 June 1842).

Following the advance to Jellalabad and the frustrating delay at that place, McCaskill was appointed to the 2nd Division which he commanded in the actions at Mamoo Khel, Tazeane and Haft Kotal. After the re-occupation of Cabul he commanded the force sent to destroy Istaliffe, the last stronghold of the Afghan chieftans. Thereafter he resumed the command of his division and was engaged with it in the several actions fought in the passes during the Army's march back into India. For his 'eminent services' in Afghanistan he was created a Knight Commander of the Bath on 24 December 1842. On the breaking up of the Army, he resumed command of the 9th Foot which he held until the outbreak of the First Sikh War, in December 1845, when he was appointed to the command of the 3rd Infantry Division in Sir Hugh Gough's Army of the Sutlej.

On 18 December, Gough's army, having marched more than 100 miles in five days over difficult terrain to meet the Sikh threat, stumbled wearily into the mud village of Moodkee. Looking forward to a rest before meeting the enemy, probably on the morrow, the Army was on the point of going into camp when some Irregular Cavalry, who had been patrolling ahead, galloped back with the news that some 15,000 Sikhs with twenty-two guns were advancing towards them. Gough immediately ordered his guns forward to cover the forming up of his tired infantry in line-of-column. Sir Harry Smith's division was placed on the British right, Sir Walter Gilbert's in the centre, and McCaskill's, consisting of the 9th Foot, 26th Bengal Native Infantry, 80th Foot, and 73rd Bengal Native Infantry, on the left.

At about 4:00 pm, with only an hour of daylight remaining, Gough ordered the infantry to advance, somewhat strangely, in echelon of brigade from the right, as a result of which Sir Harry Smith's division bore the brunt of the Sikh fire. At length, McCaskill's division moved off, the 80th Foot and 73rd B.N.I. reforming from squares on account of reports of enemy cavalry. By the time the majority of the infantry had passed through the British gun line the air was so thick with dust that it was almost impossible to distinguish individual units not to mention the enemy. This was particularly so on the left, where the British components of McCaskill's division suffered especially from the wild firing of the Native Infantry. Such was the scene, when McCaskill, gallantly leading his division through the fog of war, was hit by grapeshot in the chest and killed. Ultimately the British infantry closed with the stubbornly defended enemy positions, driving off the Sikhs who were only saved from a greater disaster by the gathering darkness.

Despite relatively heavy British casualties at the battle of Moodkee (872 in all), McCaskill was the only officer fatality of his division. He is commemorated along with Sir Robert Sale, who died of his wounds, on a brass memorial in St Andrew's Church at Ferozepore. McCaskill was married in 1814 to Anne Steele, by whom he had a daughter, also Anne (born 1821). The latter married Lieutenant (later Sir) Henry Marion Durand, Bengal Engineers, who blew in the Cabul Gate at Ghuznee. One of McCaskill's grandchildren by this union was Sir Henry Mortimer Durand (Ritchie 1-118).

Refs: W/O25/802; *Soldiers of the Raj* (De Rhé-Philipe); *History of the Norfolk Regiment* (Petre).



The Gwalior and Sutlej campaign pair to Lieutenant-General Sir John Littler, G.C.B., who commanded the 4th Infantry Division at Ferozeshuhur

(a) MAHARAJPOOR STAR 1843, unnamed, fitted with reverse pin fitting and contemporary silver bar suspension and ribbon buckle

(b) SUTLEJ 1845-46, for Ferozeshuhur 1845 (Major Genl. Sir J: H: Littler K:C:B: 36th Regt. N.I.) with pin to reverse of scroll suspension and fitted with ornate contemporary ribbon buckle and top suspension brooch, very fine (2)

£2500-3000

John Hunter Littler was the eldest son of Thomas Littler, and was born on 6 January 1783 at Tarvin, Cheshire, where his family had been seated for some generations. His maternal grandfather, John Hunter, was a Director of the Honourable East India Company. He was educated at under the Reverend Dr Davenport at the Grammar School near Acton, Nantwich, and having secured a Cadetship in the Bengal Infantry, was commissioned Ensign in the 10th B.N.I. on 19 August 1800. On his way out to India, his ship, the East Indiaman *Kent*, was taken by a French privateer in the Bay of Bengal and Littler found himself set adrift by his captors in a tender. He nevertheless arrived safely in India and joined his regiment in which he was promoted Lieutenant in November 1800. During the Second Mahratta War, Littler served in Lake's Hindustan Campaign, and, in 1811, was present at the capture of Java where he remained until 1816. Having been promoted Captain in 1812, he did not see active service for over thirty years.

Littler married, in 1827, Helen Olympia Stewart, the daughter of a Lieutenant-Colonel who claimed the right to a Scottish peerage. The following year Littler transferred to the 14th N.I. with the rank of Lieutenant-Colonel and, in 1839, he obtained the Colonelcy of the 36th N.I. which he held until his death. In 1841, he became Major-General and two years later was appointed to the command of the Agra Division. In late 1843, after the decision had been taken to disarm the Mahratta army in Gwalior, a feat which was thought possible without recourse to arms, Littler joined the 12,000 strong army under Sir Hugh Gough as a brigade commander and crossed the border into that state. On 29 December, the army advancing in three columns on the capital unexpectedly came up against a strong force of Mahrattas entrenched in and around the villages of Maharajpooor and Shikarpooor. Having organized his line, Gough issued his only order of the day - 'On and at them!' Thereafter it was purely a 'soldiers' battle'. Littler commanded the left of the advancing line composed of H.M.'s 39th Foot and the 56th N.I.; Brigadier Wright commanded the centre, and General Valiant, the right. Advancing for over a mile across broken ground and sustaining heavy losses H.M.'s 39th took the lead and, sixty yards from the Mahratta position, loosed off a volley and rushed the enemy's first line which contained twenty-eight guns. The Mahrattas came out to meet them and a tangled mêlée ensued, but gradually, as other regiments came up the enemy was driven back.

By this time Littler's wing had crossed over to the right and Valiant's to the left and without pausing for rest and, still in disorder, the forward units 'bowed their heads' and pushed on to the Mahratta second line 1200 yards away over ground intersected with ravines and littered with impedimenta abandoned by the enemy. No sooner than this line had been carried than the attacking troops moved against the enemy's camp some two miles away at Chaunda. As they came within range, they were subjected to another galling fire from the Mahratta guns, but at length the enemy were put to rout. Littler, Wright and Valiant were all wounded in this action and Littler also had two horses killed under him. For his services in the Gwalior Campaign he received the thanks of Parliament and was created a Knight Commander of the Bath on 2 May 1844.

Littler was next appointed to command of the frontier garrison at Ferozepore, which like those at Ambala and Ludhiana, was being gradually strengthened in view of the militant attitude of the Sikh military caste, the Khalsa, which since the death of the great Ranjit Singh had become a latter-day Praetorian guard. The weak Sikh leaders hoped for a defeat of the Khalsa at the hands of the British in order that their rule might go unchallenged, and to ensure a military defeat they were prepared to betray the Khalsa to the British who could be expected to offer them appropriate rewards. This duplicity then might perhaps explain the arrival of Colonel Henry Van Cortland (qv) at Ferozepore in September 1845.

By early December 1845, hostilities were imminent and Littler was sending out frequent light cavalry patrols. On the 11th a detached Sikh army under Tej Singh started to cross the Sutlej at a point fourteen miles to the north east, and by the 12th some 12,000 men were on the Ferozepore side. Littler formed his troops into two brigades and a reserve, and at midday on the 12th ordered the 2nd Brigade to take up a position on the left flank covering the north eastern approaches to the cantonment and city. He ordered the 1st Brigade to stand astride the road running east to Ludhiana on 2nd Brigade's right, and instructed the artillery to take up positions at intervals in between. The 27th N.I. were left occupying the city, and the 63rd N.I. guarding the families and sick in entrenchments in the cantonment. Littler also sent half a battery of guns and some irregular cavalry to watch the road from Lahore to Ferozepore where it crossed the river.

Meanwhile the Governor-General, General Sir Henry Hardinge, a hardened veteran of the Peninsula and Netherlands campaigns, had been inspecting the Ludhiana Division when he heard the news of Sikh invasion. He declared war at once and ordered the Army of the Sutlej to concentrate at the point of danger, Ferozepore. On the 12th, the Commander-in-Chief, Sir Hugh Gough, set out from Ambala with Sir Harry Smith's division, and by forced marches covered 114 miles in five days. On the fifth day, 16 December, they joined Hardinge and the Ludhiana Division. The Sikhs, in the meantime, established a camp at Attaree only seven miles from Ferozepore and made frequent demonstrations towards the city over the next three days. Littler moved out to meet them, but on every occasion the Sikhs retreated towards their heavy guns, whereupon Littler's troops withdrew, as he was under orders not to stage a main attack. Lal Singh, the Sikh prime minister and paramour of the Queen Regent, Jindan, then arrived at Attaree with 14,000 regular cavalry and masses of irregulars, to the accompaniment of an eighty gun salute, increasing the total enemy force to 60,000. Lal Singh, sent a message to Captain Peter Nicholson, Littler's Political Agent at Ferozepore, saying that he wished to prevent an attack. Nicholson told him that he should show his sincerity by withdrawing his cavalry some twenty miles away towards Moodkee, knowing that Gough and Hardinge were fast approaching that place. Lal Singh did so with the result that the battle of Moodkee was fought on the 18th.

On the 19th Littler received news of the victory at Moodkee from the Governor-General who suggested that he should move out to meet him at Sultan-Khanwalla, ten miles from Ferozepore and just short of Lal Singh's new position at Ferozeshuhur, but only if he could do so without risk. Littler was about to do this the next day when Tej Singh's troops made one of their demonstrations towards Ferozepore, obliging him to show a front. By the time this had been done it was too late for Littler to keep his appointment with Hardinge, which was extremely fortunate as the Governor-General had remained at Moodkee, and any advance would have placed Littler's division between Tej Singh's 40,000 men, and Lal Singh's force, which was still in considerable strength. Nevertheless, shortly before midnight another message arrived from the Governor-General ordering Littler to risk a flank march of twelve miles, and to meet him next day near Ferozeshuhur. Littler slipped out of Ferozepore's south easterly exits with the bulk of his force at 7 a.m. next morning, leaving only a skeleton encampment of 1,000 men, with picquets and buglers much in evidence, to deter Tej Singh who, ignorant of his departure, continued to mask Ferozepore.

Gough and Hardinge, meanwhile, advanced on a broad front towards Ferozeshuhur, and having made a quick reconnaissance of the Sikh position, the former received word from Littler that he would be late. The Commander-in-Chief decided that he would start without him, and rode over to Hardinge who was sitting down to breakfast, and announced confidently, "Sir Henry, if we attack at once, I promise you a splendid victory." Hardinge, who had waived his right to supreme command, disapproved and the two Generals retired behind a clump of trees to argue, out of sight but not out of hearing of their staffs. Considering how hard the Sikhs had fought at Moodkee, Hardinge was ultimately heard to declare, "Sir Hugh, I must exercise my civil power as Governor-General and forbid the attack until Littler's force has come up." Sir Harry Smith observed that this decision was 'a most fortunate interdiction for British India'. Littler arrived at one o'clock but it was not until four o'clock on this, the shortest day of the year, that the battle began. Gough's plan, if it could be called that, was basic. He placed three divisions in a line; Littler on the left, Wallace in the centre and Gilbert on the right. After a fierce artillery duel the British and Indian infantry of Littler's division advanced, on Littler's premature order.

'As they emerged from a belt of semi-jungle, blasts of grapeshot splattered them; once they were in range, the Sikhs hit them with musket fire. The division came up unevenly. Reed's brigade moved ahead of Ashburnham's, whose three native battalions had disintegrated at the sight of a well. 'No power,' reported Ashburnham, 'could restrain the thirsty sepoys from running out to drink.' Reed, [Colonel Thomas Reed (qv)] meanwhile, gave his men the order to charge too soon. [H.M's] 62nd came close to seizing their objective when the concentrated fire brought them to a halt. Reed's two sepoy battalions seemed to melt away. Without consulting Littler (who was near him), Reed ordered the brigade to retire. One officer cried, 'India is lost!' The entire division pulled back out of range. Littler felt himself disgraced; Gough had waited half a day for this force which was put out of action in less than half an hour.' Again Littler had a horse killed under him.

Coordinated attacks by other units, however, eventually succeeded in driving the Sikhs out of their camp after a night of hard and confused fighting, but at dawn it transpired that Gough's problems were far from over as Tej Singh, having heard the sound of firing, now appeared on the scene. Fortunately the Sikh commander-in-chief was perturbed by the loss of Lal Singh's camp, and after a half-hearted confrontation was happy to withdraw.

Littler was enraged over his division's performance at Ferozeshuhur, and on 25 December sent a despatch to the Adjutant-General blaming Reed and the 62nd for the debacle. His report was eventually published but it did not carry Gough's authority as he had hoped. At the close of the war Littler was appointed to the command at Lahore, and thanked by Parliament. In 1849, he was advanced in the Order of the Bath to Knight Grand Cross and appointed a Provisional Member of the Council of India and Deputy-Governor of Bengal. While at Calcutta, he was presented with a service of plate and an address by the inhabitants in recognition of his long and valuable services. In 1851, he returned home with the rank of Lieutenant-General and retired to his seat at Bigaden, Buckfastleigh, near Totnes, in Devon, where he died on 18 February 1856. The General was afterwards interred alongside his ancestors at Tarvin, in Cheshire.

Refs: Dictionary of National Biography; Remember You Are An Englishman (Lehmann).



An interesting Sutlej and Crimean War group to Paymaster John Cornes, 79th Highlanders, late 53rd Regiment, who was wounded at Buddiwal commanding the rear-guard in defence of the baggage when cut off and attacked by the enemy

- (a) SUTLEJ 1845-46, for Aliwal 1846, 1 clasp, Sobraon (Qur. Master John Cornes, 53rd Regt.)
- (b) CRIMEA 1854-55, 3 clasps, Alma, Balaklava, Sebastopol (Pay Mr. J. Cornes, 79th Foot) officially impressed naming
- (c) TURKISH CRIMEA, British issue (Pay Mr. J. Cornes, 79 Foot) *light contact marks, otherwise good very fine (3)*
£900-1200

John Cornes enlisted in the 53rd Regiment of Foot on 17 April 1824. He became Corporal in May 1825; Sergeant in September 1826; Quarter-Master Sergeant in October 1837; and Quarter-Master in June 1841.

In January 1846 the 53rd Regiment was ordered to march with all possible haste to join the Army of the Sutlej but no sooner than it reached Busseau, further orders directed it to join a detachment under the command of Sir Harry Smith, who was proceeding to Loodhiana then under threat of attack by a powerful Sikh force under Ranjur Singh. A junction with Smith was effected on the 20th and at 1 a.m. next day the whole force moved towards Loodhiana thirty miles away. Smith's advance was opposed at Badhowal by the Sikhs with sixty-five large calibre guns, but nevertheless reached Loodhiana at 3 p.m., when it was found that the baggage under Cornes had become cut off.

During the march 'the greater part of the baggage was in the rear. The enemy seeing this sent out large parties of cavalry - cutting off the communication - and took great quantities of it. A large part, including the spare ammunition and baggage of the regiment, was saved through the intrepidity of Quarter-Master Cornes, who, with the regimental baggage guard - 1 sergeant and 30 men, a few of the 16th Lancers and straggling Sepoys, in all 2 officers and about 80 men, showed a bold front to the advancing enemy; and, although they had one field peice - which they discharged several times - and about 1,000 men, such was the bold appearance of the little but gallant body that the enemy was forced to desist. The party then retired on Jugraon fort, taking with them all they could, without further molestation; they rejoined the regiment a few days afterwards, and were congratulated by their comrades with very gratifying feelings, it having been reported that they had been cut to pieces by the enemy.'

Quarter-Master Cornes, who was 'wounded in the leg and had his horse shot under him at Buddiwal', was duly thanked by Sir Hugh Gough and gained the 'cordial approbation and thanks' of the Commander-in-Chief of Her Majesty's Forces, the Duke of Wellington, for 'the gallantry and judgement he displayed in protecting the baggage and sick in the movement towards Loodhiana, when attacked by a large force of the enemy on the 21st January.' Having served at the Battles of Aliwal and Sobraon, Cornes was commissioned Ensign on 1 October 1846, and was advanced to Lieutenant in March 1847. He was appointed Paymaster in November of the latter year, and subsequently transferred to the 79th (Cameron) Highlanders with whom he served at Quebec and in the Crimean War, being present at the Battle of the Alma and the Fall of Sebastopol [note: Cornes did not serve at Balaklava and is not entitled to the clasp for that action]. He was placed on Half-Pay in June 1856, but later served as Paymaster to the 1st West India Regiment and to the 18th (Royal Irish) Regiment. Paymaster Cornes married Margaret Graham at Gibraltar in 1834, and, according to Hart's Army List, died in 1864.

Refs: Hart's Army List; WO 25/419; WO 25/3239; WO 25/418; Historical Records of the 53rd (Shropshire) Regiment (Rogerson); Historical Records of the Queen's Own Cameron Highlanders.



The Sutlej campaign medal to Captain H. J. Wallack, 9th Foot, later 77th Foot and a Member of Her Majesty's Body Guard of the Honourable Corps of Gentlemen-at-Arms

SUTLEJ 1845-46, for Moodkee 1845, 2 clasps, Ferozeshuhur, Sobraon (Lieut. H: J: Wallack, 9th Regt.) *old repair to suspension claw and post, edge bruising and polished, therefore good fine* £600-800

Henry Jobling Wallack was born in 1824, and gazetted as an Ensign in the 9th Foot on 22 July 1843, becoming Lieutenant on 25 June 1844. He served in the campaign on the Sutlej in 1845-46 and was present at the battles of Moodkee, Ferozeshuhur, and Sobraon. He transferred to the 77th Foot in October 1847, received promotion to Captain in March 1852, and was appointed a member of Her Majesty's Body Guard of the Honourable Corps of Gentlemen-at-Arms in December 1864, a position which he held until his death in London on 12 February 1900.

Refs: Hart's Army Lists; Modern English Biography (Boase).



The Suplej campaign medal to Private George Turner, 50th Regiment

SUTLEJ 1845-46, for Moodkee 1845, 3 clasps, Ferozeshuhur, Aliwal, Sobraon (George Turner, 50th Regt.) *nearly extremely fine* £600-800

Private George Turner was wounded at the battle of Ferozeshuhur on 21st-22nd December 1845.



The unusual campaign group of five to Major-General Henry Francis, Bengal Artillery

- (a) SUTLEJ 1845-46, for Sobraon 1846 (1st Lieut. Hy. Francis, 4th Battn. Artillery) slightly later impressed naming
- (b) PUNJAB 1848-49, 2 clasps, Mooltan, Goojerat (1st Lieut. H. Francis, 4th Tp. 3rd Bde. H. Arty.)
- (c) ORDER OF THE MEDJIDIE, 4th class breast badge, silver, gold and enamel, *soldered repair to the reverse*
- (d) TURKISH CRIMEA, Sardinian issue, contemporary tailor's copy, unnamed
- (e) INDIAN MUTINY 1857-59, 1 clasp, Lucknow (Capt. H. Francis, 1st Bn. Bengal Art.) mounted on a contemporary silver bar for wearing, *contact marks, otherwise nearly very fine or better* (5)

£1500-2000

Ex Tamplin Collection, Sotheby, February 1985.

Henry Francis, the son of William Francis, a hop merchant of 6 Coopers Row, Tower Hill, London, was born on 5 August 1823. He was educated at the Mercers' School, College Hill, and was nominated for a Cadetship in the Bengal Service by John Masterman, M.P., on the recommendation of his father. He was examined and passed by the H.E.I.C.S. in November 1841, and was appointed Second Lieutenant in the Bengal Artillery on 8 January 1842. He left Portsmouth with about thirty other Cadets in the *Conqueror* on the 30th of that month and apart from a brief glimpse of the Madeira Islands never saw land until reaching Madras five and a half months later. He was posted to the 2nd Battalion and then the 4th Battalion, Bengal Artillery, at Kurnaul, and immediately found 'soldiering very jolly, and India A1'. Promoted Lieutenant on 3 July 1845, he was at Delhi in December that year when he was summoned to join Captain Waller's Battery of elephant-drawn old iron 9-pounders, 'reamed' up to 12-pounders, at Kurnaul which had been ordered to join the Army of the Sutlej. On the 18th his battery was at Pehoa where, in the evening, Sir Hugh Gough's army could be heard engaged in the Battle of Moodkee some 150 miles away.

Shortly afterwards the battery arrived at the front and Francis experienced his first day under fire when he was engaged in an artillery duel with the Sikh guns. A few days later he had a lucky escape when, in the presence of the Commander-in-Chief, the breech of an 18-pounder blew off and carried away his trousers - 'I was looked at curiously and told to go to camp ...' On 10 February 1846, after a night of filling shells and cutting fuses by candle light, he was present at Sobraon, the final engagement of the Sutlej Campaign in which the Sikhs suffered some ten thousand casualties.

The suicide of a subaltern in the 4th Troop, 3rd Brigade, Bengal Horse Artillery, gave Francis his next posting and he spent much of the next two years hunting and getting into debt. But thanks to his father's intervention he was a 'free man' by early 1848, when 4.3., H.A., suddenly received orders to cross the Sutlej and assist Lieutenant Herbert Edwardes, Van Cortlandt (qv) and their frontier levies in bringing Mulraj, the refractory Governor of Mooltan, to book. However, the defection to Mulraj of Shere Singh, whose father had raised the standard of rebellion in the Punjab, caused the besieging forces under Sir S. Whish to temporarily withdraw. The siege was resumed towards the end of the year, and Francis found himself spending stretches of up to thirty hours with the siege train. After the fall of Mooltan in January 1849, Francis and his troop proceeded by forced marches of eighteen miles for fourteen days to join the main army, under Lord Gough, in time to take part in the Battle of Goojerat on 21 February.

After a breakfast of 'tea and cigars', Francis took to the field with eager anticipation, and at the start of the action galloped three quarters of a mile ahead of the British line with his Troop to commence firing. As he dismounted in order to carry out the subaltern's duty of laying the guns and cutting the fuses, a Sikh round shot passed under his arm and killed his horse just as he was handing the reins to a driver. The ensuing duel with the Sikh guns continued for half an hour during which the Troop started to sustain casualties from the enemy's cannon shot - 'each wound was death or terrible mutilation'. While calmly looking on and correcting the fire through his glass, the troop commander, Captain Anderson, was killed, and the command devolved on Francis, who also continued to carry out his 'sub's' duty. Having replenished the Troop's supply of ammunition, word reached Francis that his guns were again required at the front. Two companies of the 32nd Foot were wheeled back to make way and he galloped through with two guns. Ahead he saw about 3,000 'Singhs', and unlimbering his guns at 400 yards, poured 38 rounds of cannister into their midst. The enemy fled and Francis advanced into their camp. Here he attempted to take a Sikh prisoner, but the man refused to comply and fired into the Troop. The Troop Staff Sergeant rode at him and received a cut from the Sikh's tulwar. Francis intervened and 'hit the Sikh over the head', then, as his opponent cut his horse's ear off, he jumped down from the saddle, ran round him and, giving him 'the point', knocked him off balance. But before Francis could take him into custody, his gunners pounced and killed the Sihh.

Francis's services at Goojerat were duly recognised in the despatch of Major G. Wish, dated 22 February 1849: '... after the death of Captain Anderson, the four guns of his troop were well commanded by Lieutenant Francis, and I heartily concur in the testimony he bears to the admirable conduct of the officers and men of the troop, they worked the guns with a rapidity and precision that would have been impossible except from their uniform calmness and steadiness under a heavy fire from the enemy at both positions, first at 1,000 yards, then at 500...' (London Gazette 19 April 1849).

In February 1854, Francis arrived in England, having been granted leave on a medical certificate, and became engaged to be married to a Miss Helen Goodman. However, before taking the plunge, he volunteered and was accepted for duty with the Turkish contingent in the Crimea, where he served from March 1855 to June 1856, and in consequence of which he was appointed to the 4th Class of the Order of the Medjidie. In 1858, he was granted Royal Licence and permission to accept and wear the insignia (London Gazette 2 March 1858).

Returning to Reigate in Surrey, he married in August 1856, and returned to India, reaching Calcutta in October 1857, having been promoted Captain by Brevet on 8 January and Captain in his corps on 1 February. He served in the suppression of the Mutiny in the command of 4 Company, 1st Battalion, Bengal Artillery, and was present at the Alumbagh, near Lucknow, in February 1858; at the siege and fall of Lucknow; in the Rohilkhand Campaign; the affair at Ruiya on 7 April 1858; and the capture of Bareilly in May. Francis was thanked for his services in Brigadier-General Walpole's despatch of 16 April 1858 (London Gazette 17 July 1858). He was advanced to the rank of Brevet Major on 26 April 1859, and with the disappearance of the H.E.I.C. forces, which to Francis's mind was 'a most indiscreet and also a most wrong act', he was transferred to the Royal Artillery. He became Lieutenant-Colonel in January 1865, after which he obtained leave and returned to England.

He afterwards served in India with the 16th Brigade, the 24th Brigade, and the 19th Brigade which he commanded. He became Brevet Colonel on 24 January 1870, and then served with F Brigade. He was promoted Colonel in his corps on 1 August 1872. In 1873, he came home and served the remainder of his career in England. He retired on 31 December 1878 with the honorary rank of Major-General. General Francis died at his residence, The Red House, Sandgate, Kent, aged 68 years on 24 January 1892.

Refs: Naval & Military Gazette; Notes left by the late Major-Gen Henry Francis (published London 1894); Somerset House Wills.



The Cabul and Punjab campaign pair to Major Joseph Ferris, 2nd Sikh Local Infantry, who raised and commanded "Ferris's" Jezailchis and received the C.B. and Dooranee Empire for services in Afghanistan

(a) CABUL 1842, unnamed as issued, fitted with original steel clip and bar suspension

(b) PUNJAB 1848-49, no clasp (Major J. Ferris, C.B. Commg. 2nd Regt. Sikh Local I..) final part of unit hidden by claw, good very fine (2)

£1500-2000

Joseph Ferris, the son of a Customs and Excise officer, was born at Penzance, Cornwall, on 3 May 1807. He was nominated for a Cadetship in the Bengal Army in 1823 by James Pattison, Esq., on the recommendation of John Innes, Esq., and sailed for India aboard the *Hero of Malown* in August 1824. He joined the 28th N.I. at Berhampore, and the following July was posted to the 20th N.I. at Barrackpore. Promoted Lieutenant that same month and Captain in October 1834, he was occupied with regimental duties until May 1838, when he was appointed to command a detachment assigned to escort a mission to Ranjit Singh, the 'Lion of the Punjab'. On the return of the mission from Lahore in July, he rejoined his regiment, which, in November, was detailed for service with the Army of the Indus. However, on the decision to reduce the size of that force by two brigades, one of which included the 20th N.I., he went with the regiment to Ludhiana in January 1839. The following month, Ferris was given command of two companies detailed to escort guns and treasure to Peshawar, where he was involved in the raising and organization of several irregular corps for Shah Soojah-ool-Moolk. In command of his detachment of the 20th N.I. and leading the principal regiment of the irregular levies, the 1st Shah's Jezailchis, (a body composed of 320 border Pathans armed with the traditional matchlock of the region, the jezail), Ferris played a distinguished part in the forcing of the Khyber Pass and in the reduction of Ali Musjid.

During Sir John Keane's advance to Cabul, Ferris was ordered to garrison Ali Musjid with the Grenadier Company of the 20th N.I. and the 1st Jezailchis. Having held out against several Afridi attacks, his services were placed at the disposal of Macnaghten, the British Envoy to the reinstalled Shah Soojah, and, on 1 October 1839, Ferris was confirmed in command of the Jezailchis. The corps was considerably strengthened and, in 1840, continued to carry out duties on the Line of Communication with its headquarters at Peshbolak in the Shinwari country between the Khyber and Jellalabad. He led his corps - 'Ferris's Jezailchis' - throughout Brigadier Shelton's Nazian Valley expedition of February 1841, when it was 'prominently engaged ... and suffered considerable loss'. Shelton's despatch of 24 February, reporting an operation against the Sangu Khel Shinwaris, records: 'The conduct of Capt. Ferris and the men of his corps (Jezailchees) [sic] was conspicuous throughout the day; they attacked the enemy with great gallantry and pursued with determined bravery, over almost inaccessible heights, driving the enemy before them under a galling fire' (*Calcutta Gazette* 1 April 1841). For his services in the Nazian Valley, Ferris was awarded the Order of the Dooranee Empire, 3rd Class.

In November 1841, immediately after the Afghan backlash against the British in Cabul, Ferris was attacked at Peshbolak by all the neighbouring tribes. Having only 250 men with him (the greater part of his corps having been detached to Gandamak), he took up a position in a ruined fort which he defended against attacks from the 13th to the night of the 16th, when having lost fifty men, his ammunition ran out. Faced with no alternative but to evacuate the fort, he cut his way through Afghan lines during the hours of darkness and next morning reached Girdi Kas where he and the surviving members of his party were received by the friendly Mohmand Chief of Lalpura, Torabaz Khan. Ferris's difficulties throughout the ordeal were complicated by the presence of his wife and her sister, and by the fact he had in his charge a large sum of public money which he was forced to abandon. Finally, with the assistance of Torabaz Khan, Ferris and his party were conducted by the Tartara route to Peshawar which was reached on the 21st.

Over the course of the next few months, Ferris was busily engaged at Peshawar recruiting, reforming and refitting his corps which, at 400-strong in April 1842, played a prominent part in the advance on Jellalabad with the army under Sir George Pollock. In reporting the successful forcing of the Khyber Pass in the face of stiff opposition on 5 April, Pollock made special mention of 'Captain Ferris commanding the Jezailchees [sic], whose conduct excited the delight and admiration of all who beheld them.' He further added that 'much of the success of the day to be attributed to their gallantry skill and perseverance in this most difficult description of warfare' (*London Gazette* 7 June 1842).

On 16 April 1842, Ferris was rejoined by the detachment formerly at Gandamak, which, in the meantime, had been besieged with Sale's garrison at Jellalabad. Pollock was then delayed and while he tried to impress on the Governor-General the urgent need to advance to Cabul forthwith, Ferris and his corps took part in the Shinwari Expedition under Brigadier-General Monteath in July, being present at the storming of Secunder Khan's fort at Mazenia. In his despatch dated the 27th, Monteath reported: 'I should be unjust were I not to say that the conduct of Captn. Ferris, his Native Commandant, Hyder Ali, and the whole corps of Jezailchees [sic] was highly distinguished' (*Calcutta Gazette* 31 August 1842 and *London Gazette* 11 October 1842).

When Pollock finally moved on Cabul in August, Ferris's Jezailchis were attached to the column under Major-General John McCaskill (see Lot 32) and took part in the rout of Mohamed Khan's army in the Tazeane Pass, the action at Haft Kotal and the unopposed re-occupation of Cabul on 15 September. On the 19th, he advanced with Sale's force to Urgundeh to receive the British prisoners taken by Akbar Khan during the disastrous retreat from Cabul ten months earlier. On the conclusion of the operations in Afghanistan, Ferris returned with Pollock's force to Peshawar where the majority of the Jezailchis were paid off and discharged, before marching with the remainder to Ferozepore. On 27 December 1842, he was awarded the C.B. in recognition of his services in Afghanistan, and was promoted Brevet Major.

After six months' leave, Ferris rejoined the 20th Native Infantry at Nasirabad and served there until September 1843, when he was appointed Commandant of the Bundelkhund Military Police at Banda, into which some Jezailchis had enlisted. This unit was disbanded in August 1847 and, while waiting to rejoin the 20th N.I., he was unexpectedly given command of the 2nd or Hill Regiment of Sikh Local Infantry, a forerunner of the Punjab Frontier Force. This newly raised unit acquitted itself honourably in the Punjab Campaign under Ferris's leadership, participating in General Wheeler's operations against insurgents under Ram Singh, in the Jullundur Doab and beyond the Beas. The Hill Regiment, which was to survive to Independence as the 2/12th, Punjab Frontier Force, took part in the dispersion of a large body of Sikhs at Dinanagar in November 1848, and in the defeat of Ram Singh at Bassu, near Nurpur, in January 1849. Following the cessation of hostilities, Ferris returned with the regiment to its station at Kot Kangra and then, in May 1849, moved to Dharmsala, where a new cantonment was being formed.

Ferris's promising career was cut short at the age of forty-six by his sudden death on 14 August 1853. He was interred in the Lower Cemetery at Dharmsala and a monument to his memory was erected over his grave by the officers of his regiment. Four years later a greater tragedy was to overtake his family. Ferris's sister, the wife of Colonel Stephen Williams of the 56th N.I., was one of the ladies slaughtered at Cawnpore in June 1857. Her husband died of apoplexy soon after General Wheeler's entrenchment became besieged, while she herself was severely injured by a gunshot wound to the face. She lingered in disfigurement and agony for two days, attended by her eldest daughter who was suffering from a bullet wound through the shoulder blade before being massacred at Satichura Ghat. The youngest of her daughters was seen on that frightful day, standing amidst the carnage at the waters edge, telling a Sepoy who was about to bayonet her that her father had always been kind to Sepoys. The Sepoy turned away, but, as he did so, a native armed with a club delivered a fatal blow to the child's head.

Refs: Hodson Index (NAM); Soldiers of the Raj (De Rhé-Philipe); IOL L/MIL/10/26; Cawnpore (Trevelyan).



The magnificent Indian campaign group to Colonel William Garden, C.B., Bengal Army, Quarter-Master General of the Army in India 1841-50, recipient of the rare 2nd Class of the Order of the Dooranee Empire for his services at Ghuznee in 1839

- (a) ARMY OF INDIA 1799-1826, 2 clasps, Nepaul, Bhurtpore (Lieut. Wm. Garden, Asst. Qr. Mr. Genl.) short hyphen reverse, officially impressed naming
- (b) GHUZNEE 1839, unnamed as issued, fitted with contemporary wide silver bar suspension
- (c) MAHARAJPOOR STAR 1843, unnamed, fitted with adapted hook and straight bar suspension and worn with a buckle from an unrecorded (proposed?) ribbon
- (d) SUTLEJ 1845-46, for Moodkee 1845, 2 clasps, Ferozeshuhur, Sobraon (Lieut. Col. W. Garden 36th Regt. N.I.)
- (e) PUNJAB 1848-49, 2 clasps, Chilianwala, Goojerat (Lieut. Coll. W. Garden, C.B. Q.M.G. Bengal Army)
- (f) AFGHANISTAN, ORDER OF THE DOORANEE EMPIRE 1839, an exceptionally rare 2nd class set of insignia, comprising neck badge, 55mm x 50mm, gold and enamels with central circlet of 15 pearls, of local Afghan manufacture but the arms more highly embellished than usual, the colours of the central enamelled Persian inscription in reverse, and the reverse centre with stylised floral design, suspended from a detachable hinged gold ring and exceptionally rare 3.5-inch silk neck cravat, this fitted with gold clasp for wearing; and breast star, 70mm x 70mm, silver, gold and enamels with central circlet of 18 pearls, a superb London-made piece utilising the body similar to that of a K.C.B. star, the reverse fitted with gold pin for wearing (very few stars were locally manufactured due to shortage of time and materials), all contained in a fine contemporary fitted case by Harvey & Co, Goldsmiths and Watch Makers, Regent Street, with space for C.B. badge and accompanying note "Medal returned on death of Col. W. Garden", generally extremely fine, an attractive and very rare group ((7)
£9000-12000

William Garden, the son of Alexander Garden, was born in Aberdeenshire in 1790. He was appointed Ensign in the 1/8th Bengal Native Infantry in 1812 but did not join his corps until 1815, being employed on survey duty. In late 1815 he was appointed Adjutant of the 1/8th and in 1816 served in the Nepal War with the battalion in the 1st Brigade, Right Column. In the Third Mahratta War Garden found his metier as Quartermaster and thereafter never returned to regimental duty, serving successively as Deputy Quarter-Master-General of the 3rd, 2nd, and 1st classes and taking a share of the Deccan Prize Money. On the reorganization of the Army he transferred to the list of the 36th N.I. and next served in the field as Acting Quarter-Master-General at the Siege of Bhurtpoor. In 1832 he was appointed A.Q.M.G. of the Army, and owing to the incapacitation of one Captain Froyer, was made officiating A.D.C. to the Governor-General, Lord William Bentinck.

In 1838 Garden was appointed D.Q.M.G. to the Army of the Indus on the invasion of Afghanistan with the rank of Major, and was present at the storming of Ghuznee for which he received, on 26 March 1841, the 2nd Class of the Order of the Dooranee Empire. In reporting the capture of Ghuznee to Bentinck's successor, Lord Auckland, Sir John Keane wrote: 'I must now inform your Lordship that since I joined the Bengal Column in the valley of Shawl I have continued my march with it in the advance and it has been my good fortune to have had the assistance of two most efficient Staff Officers - Major Craigie, Depy. Adj. General & Major Garden, Dy. Q.M. Genl. It is but justice to these Officers that I should state to your Lordship the high satisfaction I have derived from the manner in which all their duties have been performed up to this day and that I look upon them as promising officers to fill the higher ranks.' Moreover, according to his obituary, Garden, at this time, was the 'pride of the Bengal Army. During the whole course of the advance he rode out every day with a few troopers into the new and hostile country to select ground for the army to occupy, and returned to camp the same day. He thus went over exactly three times as much ground as every other man in the advance.'



In November 1841, he became Quarter-Master-General of the Army with the official rank of Lieutenant-Colonel and served in that capacity throughout the Gwalior campaign and both Sikh Wars. He was named in Sir Hugh Gough's report on the Battle of Maharajpore, which stated that the exertions of 'Lt-Colonel Garden, Qr. Mr. General of the Army', were 'as creditable as they were unceasing' (*London Gazette* 8 March 1844), and was also promoted Lieutenant-Colonel by Brevet 'for services at the battle of Maharajpore' (*London Gazette* 30 April 1844). However, in the usual course, promotion was slow for Garden. At that time, for instance, he was still listed as a regimental Captain, and was not advanced to Major on the roll of the 36th N.I. until November 1846. In December 1845 Garden received a severe contusion at Ferozeshuhur from which he never fully recovered. In recognition of his services during the Sutlej campaign he was created a C.B. (*London Gazette* 3 April 1846) and having returned to England he was appointed A.D.C. to Queen Victoria and promoted Brevet Colonel. Ill-health finally overtook him and he died in London on 29 July 1852.

Refs: Hodson Index (NAM); Officers of the Bengal Army 1758-1834; Modern English Biography (Boase); IOL L/MIL/10/23.



The North West Frontier campaign medal to Assistant Surgeon A. M. Garden, Indian Medical Service, attached 2nd Punjab Cavalry

INDIA GENERAL SERVICE 1854-94, 1 clasp, North West Frontier (Asst.-Surgn. A. M. Garden, 2nd Punjab Cvy.)
extremely fine £250-300

Archibald MacDonald Garden was born on 26 May 1832, son of Alexander Garden, M.D., and nephew of Colonel William Garden (see Lot 39). He qualified as M.R.C.S. in 1854 and was appointed Assistant Surgeon on 14 January 1855. He served on the North West Frontier with Sam Browne's 2nd Punjab Cavalry, Punjab Irregular Force, in the expedition under Brigadier-General Neville Chamberlain (qv), in March 1857, against the Bozdars (Medal with clasp). Garden was appointed Surgeon in January 1867, becoming a Surgeon-Major in July 1873, and a Brigade-Surgeon in November 1879. From at least 1870 until his death, he held the appointment of Superintendent General of Vaccination in the Punjab. Brigade-Surgeon Garden died at Guildford on 17 December 1887.

Refs: Roll of the Indian Medical Service (Crawford); Quarterly Army List (Bengal); Ubique (Anderson).



The important campaign pair to Lieutenant-General Sir Sydney Cotton, G.C.B., 22nd Regiment, later Colonel of the 10th Foot and Governor of Chelsea Hospital, who commanded two punitive expeditions on the North West Frontier and ruthlessly suppressed the mutinous uprising in the Punjab in 1857

(a) INDIAN MUTINY 1857-59, no clasp (M. Genl. Sir S. Cotton, K.C.B. Commg. Peshawor Divn.)

(b) INDIA GENERAL SERVICE 1854-94, 1 clasp, North West Frontier (Mr. Gl. Sir S. J. Cotton, Comg. Sitana. Expy. Force) *light contact marks, otherwise very fine* (2) £2000-2500

Sydney John Cotton was one of twelve children of Henry Calveley Cotton of Woodcote, Oxfordshire, and a first cousin of Sir Willoughby Cotton, the First Afghan War general who, as a youth, led the notorious Rugby School mutiny of 1797.

Sydney Cotton was born on 2 December 1792 and entered the Army on 19 April 1810. Appointed Cornet without purchase in the 22nd Light Dragoons, he joined the regiment in India, and served with it in command of a squadron in the ceded districts during the Third Mahratta War. Having been promoted Lieutenant on 13 February 1812, he found himself placed on Half-Pay on the disbandment of the 22nd, but using his family connections to effect gained employment as Aide-de-Camp to Major-General Hare at Bangalore.

Having been advanced to the rank of Captain on 1 January 1820, he married Marianne Hackett, the daughter of a Captain in his former regiment. In 1822 he purchased a company - 'the sole purchase step of his career' - in the 3rd Regiment of Foot (The Buffs) then in New South Wales. On the Buffs removal to India, he secured the appointment of A.D.C. and Military Secretary to his influential kinsman, the celebrated Peninsula general Sir Stapleton Cotton, 1st Baron Combermere, who was afterwards advanced to a viscountcy for the capture of Bhurtpoor in 1826.

In January 1828, Cotton became Major in the 41st Regiment in Burma, but later exchanged into the 28th Regiment in New South Wales. On 23 November 1841, he was advanced to Lieutenant-Colonel by Brevet and given the job of taking five hundred male and female convicts to Moreton Bay on the east coast. He performed the task with such vigour that the district was opened to settlement soon after and was subsequently developed to become the State of Queensland. In 1842 Cotton returned to India with the 28th Foot and travelled up country to take part in the fighting in Afghanistan, but a virulent attack of cholera knocked out the regiment before it could come to grips with the foe. Ever anxious to prove himself in the field, Cotton next went to Scinde hoping for a renewal of hostilities after the Battle of Hyderabad but the Baluchis decided they had had enough.

Cotton was promoted regimental Lieutenant-Colonel on 8 June 1843, and, in 1848, when the regiment was ordered home he effected an exchange with Colonel John Pennefeather whose own corps, the 22nd Foot, were staying in India. In early 1853 with the local rank of Brigadier he served under General Fane at a camp of exercise at Ambala, which included H.M.'s 9th Lancers, H.M.'s 32nd, H.M.'s 52nd, the 60th Rifles, 3rd Bengal Cavalry, and several Native Infantry regiments. Private Waterfield (qv) of the 32nd recorded: 'We were sometimes commanded when in the field by General Fane, and sometimes by Brigadier Cotton. General Fane seems to be a very easy man, and well able to manoeuvre troops, but Brigadier Cotton has most decidedly the advantage in the word of command. He can give it loud enough to be heard by the whole of the line; he is called by the men 'the Noisy Brigadier', but still he is a very able officer.'

In 1853, Cotton, a disciplinarian whose 'moderate stature and lean active form' belied his forty odd years of military service, was at last given a chance. The murder of Colonel Mackeson, the much loved British Commissioner at Peshawar by a fanatic, as he sat on the verandah of his house listening to petitions, was followed by a period of great tension in the frontier city. British officers, who at the best of times were used to living amongst a volatile population whose petty squabbles might be settled with the lunge of a knife than by other means, took to sleeping in their boots and with their swords at their sides. Incursions and raids into the fertile Peshawar valley by Afghan tribesmen from the hills followed. Accordingly reinforcements were despatched and Cotton arrived at the head of a combined force of cavalry, infantry and guns, which he took to the Kohat Pass and brought several refractory tribes to submission.



On 29 November he commanded the 22nd Foot on a punitive expedition under Colonel S. B. Boileau against the Utman Khels who occupied the hills to the north of the city. The expedition, which included Gurkhas, the Guides under Lieutenant Hodson, and Mountain Artillery, followed an alternative route to the one taken by Sir Colin Campbell a year earlier, and struggled up the Sargasha Pass which was so steep and narrow that it was only possible to move through it in single file.

By noon the 22nd Foot and the Gurkhas, aided by artillery, had entered the Pathan villages and set them alight, whilst under a constant fire from tribesmen in the surrounding hills. Finding himself increasingly hard pressed, Boileau commenced a fighting retreat towards Taruni, where the troops were alarmed to see hundreds of Afridis sitting up in the hills watching the fight. It was feared that at any moment they would succumb to temptation and descend to cut up the harassed force, but fortunately they remained true to their pledge of loyalty and sent deputations to the Utman Khels warning them not to come any closer, before bringing out water to the exhausted troops. At length Boileau's force regained the plain, and marched into camp having been under arms for eighteen hours at a cost of 8 killed and 29 wounded.

On 31 August 1854, Cotton, now a full Colonel, went out again to destroy border villages in command of a force comprising the 22nd and 42nd Regiments, native infantry, cavalry and guns, this time visiting the homes of hostile Mohmands at Dabb, Sadin and Shah Mansur Khel with fire and death. The first village he reached was Shah Mansur Khel, which was defended by matchlock men both in the houses and in the surrounding hills, but they were soon driven off by the mountain guns and infantry. The houses were flattened by elephants and grain stocks either carried away or burnt. Dabb and Sadin suffered similar fates for a cost of one killed and sixteen wounded. When the 22nd Foot returned to England, Cotton transferred nominally to the 10th Foot in Bengal, and in 1855 served in command of a brigade in the Sarhind Division at Ambala. He returned to Peshawar in command of a brigade the next year and carried out a series of 'instructive field manoeuvres' which so appealed to the professional mind of the newly arrived D.A.A.G., the young Captain Henry Norman (see Lot 85), that he obtained special permission from his chief General Reed (qv) to take part in various exercises.

The outbreak of the Mutiny was not a complete surprise and Cotton, like a number of officers elsewhere in India, had received a warning from one of his servants that there was to be 'a general rising in the country, in which the [Bengal] sepoy army was to take the lead'. As the officer commanding the forces at Peshawar, he attended the emergency Council of War at Reed's quarters on 13 May 1857, where Sir John Lawrence's trusted lieutenants Neville Chamberlain (qv), Herbert Edwardes and John Nicholson resolved to form a Moveable Column to stamp out, at the first, any sign of insurrection in the Punjab. Lawrence at Rawalpindi, however, considered the Council's measures provocative and an over reaction, and next day Reed and Cotton received despatches to that effect from his secretary. Reed now found himself in a quandary and threw the ball to Edwardes, while Cotton dealt with Lawrence's response with characteristic decision and told Edwardes in a letter written the same day: 'Our arrangements of yesterday supersede, of course, those of the Chief Commissioner; being at this moment in operation, nothing more need be done.' Lawrence, who awoke to the crisis a few days later was afterwards to confess that his zealous subordinate, Cotton, was 'an old trump' and most certainly 'the right man for the place'.

As a further precautionary measure Cotton decided to disarm four regiments at Peshawar. Their officers protested and declared their implicit trust in the men, but Cotton was unmoved and ordered the disarming to take place at the first opportunity. As the Sepoys piled their muskets a number of their officers threw down their swords and spurs in sympathy, but other than that the parade, which took place on 22 May, passed off without incident. That night however about two hundred men belonging to the 51st N.I. deserted only to be caught by police and local people of the district and marched back to Peshawar. Colonel Cooper of the 51st was summoned to draw up the charge for the trial of the deserters, and sympathetically charged them with merely being absent without leave. Cotton was furious and had it changed at once to desertion, before hanging the Subadar-Major in front of the whole garrison.

In his mission to uphold British supremacy, Cotton was prepared to employ most draconian measures, and given a free hand he would have hanged every man jack of the 51st. On 25 May the 55th Native Infantry mutinied at Hoti Mardan and in their flight from John Nicholson and Luther Vaughan (see Lot 86) a hundred and twenty Sepoys were taken prisoner and brought to Peshawar. Cotton immediately ordered a mass execution at which every man was to be blown from a gun but, to his frustration and annoyance, Lawrence intervened. In April 1858 Cotton, still smarting from the Chief Commissioner's interference, aired his views on the matter in a public letter: 'With regard to the injunction placed on me by the Chief Commissioner not to carry out into effect the execution of the hundred and twenty criminals, but to take one fourth or one third of them, which latter I determined on ... I am of the opinion, and I was at the time of the great execution of forty criminals blown away from guns, that mutiny was raging to such an extent throughout the country that no one ought to escape punishment (capital); and I now believe that if the hundred and forty men had been executed, as I intended, we should not have had the 51st affair [of August 1857, see below] at all. No doubt Sir John Lawrence's views were humane, but it was not mercy in the end.'

In his book *Nine Years on the North-West Frontier*, published in 1868, Cotton further defended the executions by stating that, 'the mode adopted in carrying them into effect spread far and wide, and, even in the city of Cabul itself, were the subject of discussion and astonishment', and that the Afghans 'were alone deterred ... by the imposing attitude which had been assumed at Peshawar it came to the author's knowledge afterwards that thirty thousand Afghans had shod their horses at one time, ready to invade our territory'.

Whilst confounding the rebellion within the Punjab, Cotton prudently kept a weather eye towards the Afghan border, expecting that the ever restless and unsettled tribesmen would sweep down from the hills at the first sign of weakness. The 51st affair of August 1857, alluded to above, began when a well known agitator and 'red-hot fanatic' named Syud Ameer arrived in the Khyber to rally the tribesmen to the green standard of *Jihad*. But fortunately the tribesmen had just been humbled by the Peshawar authorities and fined 3,000 Rupees for the murder of Lieutenant Hand, and though much frightened by Syud Ameer's rantings, refused to join him. Syud Ameer however would not give up and he sent emissaries into the lines of the disarmed regiments at Peshawar urging them to rise. The Sepoys thus stirred began to organise, and smuggled arms into their lines. But 'General Cotton,' recorded Edwardes, 'as usual, took the initiative. On the morning of August 28, he caused the lines of every native regiment to be simultaneously searched, the Sepoys being moved out into tents for that purpose. Swords, hatchets, muskets, pistols, bayonets, powder, ball, and caps were found stowed away in roofs, and floors, and bedding, and even drains; and exasperated by the discovery of their plans and by the taunts of the newly raised Afreedee regiments, who were carrying out the search, the 51st Native Infantry rushed upon the piled arms of the 18th Punjab Regiment, and sent messengers to all the other Hindostanee regiments to tell them of the rise. For a few minutes a desperate struggle ensued. The 51st Native Infantry had been one of the finest Sepoy corps in the service, and they took the new Irregulars altogether by surprise. They got possession of several stands of arms and used them well. Captain Bartlett and other officers were overpowered by numbers and driven into a tank. But soon the Afreedee soldiers seized their arms, and then began that memorable fusillade which commenced on the Parade-ground at Peshawar and ended at Jumrood.

General Cotton's military arrangements in the Cantonments were perfect, for meeting such emergencies. Troops, Horse and Foot, were rapidly under arms, and in pursuit of the mutineers. Every civil officer turned out with his *posse comitatus* of levies or police, and in a quarter of an hour the whole country was covered with the chase. General Cotton, in a stirring divisional order, thanked the troops warmly for the promptitude with which they put down this rising, and made a similar acknowledgement by letter of the services of the Civil officers. The exertions of all, on this occasion, were indeed very great. The mutineers rose at noon, and the heat was dreadful. Colonel Cooper, who commanded the 51st, and joined in the pursuit of his own men, died before evening from the effects of the sun.'

On 11 June 1857, Lawrence shocked Edwardes by proposing 'that we should abandon Peshawar and the Trans-Indus' and hand it over to Dost Mohammed of Afghanistan, in exchange for his neutrality, in order to concentrate on preserving other possessions. The decision to stay was a momentous one, and one which Cotton was afterwards proud to have been associated with. In a mood of self-congratulation he commented, 'If there was a subject submitted for the consideration of local authorities which called forth, or rather involved, a question of responsibility, it was that. The alternatives being these, 'Hold on at all hazards' (and, indeed, great and many were the hazards), or 'Retreat to save our bacon.' The hazard, of all others, was the contemplated sickness of the European troops in the autumn of each year. Every one who knows anything of the soldiers in Peshawar knows that there is not a single man fit for a day's work in the autumn of each year. What, then, might we expect to be our fate in holding on, should the people of the country and beyond the passes, (who are as well aware of our annual weakness) choose to take advantage of us? And with this direful prospect, we decided on holding on to Peshawar - *which saved India.*'

The return of the Guides after the fall of Delhi in late 1857 gave Cotton an opportunity to turn the whole garrison out on a full dress parade to welcome them home. The Guides were received with a royal salute, the garrison presented arms, and Cotton, revelling in the occasion, rode forward surrounded by his staff. He then addressed them, reciting their record of distinguished service. Edwardes at his side translated. A *feu de joie* was fired three times by the assembled troops, and amidst tremendous cheers, 'the troops passed round in review, the Guides being placed at their head ... And so ended that day's work, at which all the citizens of Peshawur must have been looking on. It was a brilliant day after rain, with no dust and the whole passed off admirably.'

In April and May 1858, with the worst of the crisis over, Cotton, accompanied by his son, Lynch (see Lot 42), as A.D.C., and Edwardes as Political Officer, set out for Sitana where he promptly dealt with the Pantjar Chief, Mohurrun Khan, who had under his command a large body of Hindustani fanatics and Bengal Sepoys. 'He burnt the villages of their allies, blew up the forts, drove them from Sitana, and razed their dwellings to the ground'. While thus employed word reached camp that Cotton was made a Knight Commander of the Bath 'for his services at Peshawar'. However, 'there was but one opinion throughout the garrison', and that was that, Edwardes ought to have got it also. 'Indeed, the omission seemed to throw a cloud over Sir Sydney Cotton's enjoyment of his honour'.

On 26 October 1858, Cotton was made Major-General and continued to hold the Peshawar command, where, in 1861, J. H. Sylvester, the regimental surgeon of Probyn's Horse came within his orbit, '... there was no active service for a while, but to belong to a force under Sir Sydney Cotton was to be constantly on parade. He was a martinet of the old school, lived in his uniform, and kept all under his command very constantly in theirs. To be seen in public dressed in plain clothes involved instant arrest'. Cotton, to the relief of not a few, returned to Europe in 1863, where he was appointed Colonel of the 10th Foot, and was given command of the North Western District with his headquarters at Manchester. He was made Lieutenant-General on 20 April 1866, and in 1869 was made Honorary Colonel of the 1st Cheshire Rifle Volunteers. In 1872 he was appointed Governor of Chelsea Hospital, and the following year was made a G.C.B.

General Cotton, who was the author of various books and pamphlets in which he expressed his forthright views on military and Indian subjects, expired after an illness of three days duration on 19 February 1874, but characteristically not without comment. 'He appeared to have thought he was entering the gates of glory with a victorious army', his niece recorded, 'and expressed it somewhat in these words: "I hear it; yes, I hear it! Music! Such music as I never heard before - and songs of victory and triumph! I am going, going now; I am ready. The Captain waits to meet me - the great Captain ... I have finished my course; I have fought the good fight!"

Refs: Dictionary of National Biography; WO 76/85 & 120; WO 25/793; WO 25/87; Hart's Army List; The Memoirs of Private Waterfield; Memorials of the Life and Letters of Sir Herbert Edwardes (Mrs Edwardes); Cavalry Surgeon (Sylvester); Life of Field Marshal Sir Neville Chamberlain (Forrest); General Sir Arthur Cotton, His Life and Work (Lady Hope).



The North West Frontier campaign medal to Major-General L. S. Cotton, 22nd Regiment, who served as Aide-de-Camp to his father on the North West Frontier

INDIA GENERAL SERVICE 1854-94, 1 clasp, North West Frontier (Capt. & A.D.C. L. S. Cotton, 22nd Regt.) very fine £400-450

Lynch Stapleton Cotton, the second son of General Sir Sydney Cotton (see Lot 41), and Marianne, daughter of Captain Hackett, H.M.'s 22nd Light Dragoons, was born on 21 December 1828, and was commissioned Ensign in H.M.'s 22nd Regiment of Foot on 8 September 1846. Promoted Lieutenant on 27 May 1848, he served as Aide-de-Camp to his father from December 1857, when the latter commanded the Peshawar Division. He became Captain on 16 March 1858, and between 22 April and 5 May 1858 took part in the operations of the Sittana Field Force, being present at the destruction, without opposition, of the hostile strongholds of Chinglai on 26 April, and destruction of Mangal Thana on 29 April.

On 3 May he was with his father's force when it moved to Khabal with the intention of destroying the last remaining Hindustani stronghold at Sittana, in cooperation with Major Beecher's column from the left bank of the Indus. An enveloping attack was made on the morning of the 4th by a portion of Sir Sydney's force and Beecher's men; the enemy were caught by a cross fire, and after a short hand-to-hand struggle, every Hindustani in the position was either killed or taken prisoner. Of this decisive engagement it is stated that the fighting of the 'Hindustanis' was strongly marked with fanaticism; 'they came boldly and doggedly on, going through all the preliminary attitudes of the Indian prize-ring, but in perfect silence, without a shout or a word of any kind. All were dressed in their best for the occasion, mostly in white, but some of the leaders wore velvet cloaks.'

For services with the Sittana Field Force, Lynch was mentioned in despatches. He afterwards exchanged into H.M.'s 97th (Earl of Ulster's) and 63rd Regiments, becoming Major on 9 March 1867, half Colonel on 30 April 1873, and full Colonel five years later. He married, in 1855, Jane Gordon, daughter of James Inglis of Aberdeenshire, and was latterly Assistant Adjutant, Quartermaster-General, and Commandant of the Royal Hibernian Military Academy. Advanced to the rank of Major-General on 8 July 1888, Lynch Cotton died on 7 March 1899.

Refs: Hart's Army Lists; Burke's Peerage.



The Punjab and Indian Mutiny pair to Major-General Sir Robert Honner, K.C.B., Indian Army, Brigade Commander in Persia and with the Central India Field Force

(a) PUNJAB 1848-49, 1 clasp, Mooltan (Major Robert Wm. Honner, Comg. 4th Regt. N.I.)

(b) INDIAN MUTINY 1857-59, 1 clasp, Central India (Brigdr. R. W. Honner, C.B. Rajpootana Fd. Force) both medals fitted with contemporary gold ribbon buckles, contact marks, otherwise nearly very fine or better (2)

£1200-1500

Robert Honner, the son of a 'private gentleman', was born at Trichinopoly on 30 June 1799, and educated in Ireland. He was nominated for the Bombay Infantry by W. T. Money, Esq., on the recommendation of Charles Forbes, Esq., and was appointed Ensign in the 4th Bombay Native Infantry in 1821. In 1824 he was employed in operations against the Meenahs, and later the same year was made 'Acting Line Adjutant' at Deesa. He became Adjutant of his regiment on 11 May 1826, and acting Major of Brigade at Sholapore on 26 March 1832. He relinquished the adjutancy in 1842 on being appointed to the command of the Poona recruiting depot.

In 1847 he succeeded to the command of his regiment and the following year commanded it in operations before Mooltan for which he was mentioned in Brigadier-General Dundas's despatch of 28 December 1848. 'Major Mignan with the first column moved to the left clearing the ramparts while the columns under Major Mant and Major Honner pushing for the centre of the town established themselves in the grain market, I have great pleasure in bringing to the notice of the Major Genl. the conduct of Major Mignan Commdg. 1 Fus., Major Mant Commdg. 19 Regt. and Major Honner Commdg 4.N.I. (Rifles)' (*London Gazette* 7 March 1849). He was again mentioned in despatches on 7 January 1849, by Brigadier Stalker following the capture of the citadel at Mooltan (*London Gazette* 23 March 1849). As a result of his services in the Second Sikh War he was promoted Lieutenant-Colonel by Brevet (*London Gazette* 5 June 1849). In May 1854 he was given command of the Poona Brigade.

In 1856, Honner was appointed Brigadier, 2nd class, commanding the 2nd Infantry Brigade in the Persian Expeditionary Force. He was present at the capture of Reshire Fort and the surrender of Bushire in December 1856, and at the battle of Khushab on 7 February 1857, where he gained the 'warmest approbation' of General Stalker. For his services in Persia, Honner was recommended for a C.B. by General Sir James Outram in his despatch dated 17 June, the award being announced on 21 January 1858.

In August 1857, he was appointed to the command of troops on the island of Karrackasa until his return to Bombay in March 1858. He next served as Brigadier, 1st class, in Sir Hugh Rose's Central India Field Force in Rajputana, and later subjugated the Waghers in Kathiwar with a force comprising the 1st Bombay Grenadiers, the 11th, 14th, and 17th Marine Battalions. Honner transferred to the 30th N.I. in April 1861 and was promoted to Major-General in September of the same year. He was Commander of the Scinde Division from March 1863 to May 1866, and was created K.C.B. in March 1865. Major-General Honner died in London on 8 November 1868.

Refs: IOI L/MIL/142/200-203; IOI L/MIL/69; IOI L/MIL/12/69, 77, 78, 79, 80, 81, 82; History of the Bombay Army; History of the 6th Rajputana Rifles (James); Modern English Biography (Boase).



The 'Persia' C.B. group to Major-General Charles Steuart, 14th Light Dragoons, who was wounded at Chilianwala, commanded a Cavalry Brigade in Persian Expedition and the 2nd Brigade of the Central India Field Force

(a) THE MOST HONOURABLE ORDER OF THE BATH (Military) C.B., Companion's breast badge, 22 carat gold and enamels, hallmarked London 1858, maker's mark WN, complete with gold swivel-ring suspension and ribbon buckle

(b) PUNJAB 1848-49, 2 clasps, Chilianwala, Goojerat (Lt. Col. C. Steuart, 14th Lt. Dragns.) *some light rubbing to parts of naming*

(c) INDIA GENERAL SERVICE 1854-94, 1 clasp, Persia (Brigr. R. Steuart, 2nd Cav. Bri.)

(d) INDIAN MUTINY 1857-59, 1 clasp, Central India (Colnl. C. Steuart, C.B. 14th Lgt. Drgns.) *nearly extremely fine*
(4) £5000-6000

Charles Steuart was born in the Bengal Presidency on 27 August 1807, and was commissioned Cornet by purchase in the 5th Dragoon Guards at the age of eighteen. Promoted Lieutenant by purchase in February 1829, he exchanged into the 13th Light Dragoons in May of that year and served in Madras from 1830 to 1836. Following his return to England he purchased a Captaincy in H.M.'s 80th Foot on 9 November 1838. On 30 April 1841 he joined the 14th Light Dragoons and landed in India with the regiment in the September following. Advanced to the rank of Major in April 1848, he served in the Second Sikh War and was present at Ramnuggur, the passage of the Chenab, the battle of Chilianwala, where he was wounded in the right arm, the battle of Goojerat, the pursuit of the enemy across the Jhelum, and the pursuit of the Afghans over the Indus to the Khyber Pass.

Steuart became Lieutenant-Colonel on 7 July 1850. On 20 February 1857 he left the regiment's station at Kirkee to take part in the Persian expedition, in which the 14th Light Dragoons, with the exception of 'H' Troop, were employed in the occupation of Bushire Island. Nevertheless, Steuart managed a spell in command of the cavalry brigade for which he received his C.B. on 1 January 1858. Shortly after the regiment's return to Kirkee in May 1857, it was divided into two wings which formed part of two separate columns. The left wing, under Major Herbert Gall, went to the relief of Mhow and subsequently served in the Malwa Field Force's grim campaign to relieve Neemuch, while the right wing, under Major Arthur Scudamore (see Lot 73), was involved in operations to a lesser degree.

Steuart, who succeeded to the command of the regiment on 26 August 1857, was appointed to the command of the 2nd Brigade, Central India Field Force, whose strategic aim was the elimination of rebels in Jhansi and Gwalior, who otherwise might threaten British counter-insurgency operations further north.

Steuart's brigade, comprising the 3rd Bombay European Fusiliers, 24th Bombay Native Infantry, cavalry and infantry from the Hyderabad Contingent, a Horse Artillery battery, a Light Field battery, a battery of the Bhopal Artillery on loan from the wily old Begum of Bhopal, a Company of Madras Sappers & Miners, a detachment of Bombay Sappers, and the Siege Train, concentrated at Sehore and marched on 6 January 1858, accompanied by the force commander, Sir Hugh Rose.



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Having participated in the capture of Rathguri and Garakhota, Steuart was next present with his brigade at the forcing of the Muddenpore Pass which was stormed by the 3rd Bombay Europeans. Sir Hugh then 'sent directions to Brigadier Steuart, who had halted in the rear with the reserve and siege train, to advance through it and occupy the head of the lake in the village [of Lunia]. As soon as they arrived fire was opened on the rebels' guns with 8-inch howitzers and 9-pounders. The cavalry sent in pursuit of the fleeing rebels followed them to the walls of the fort of Surahi. The rebels' total losses were estimated at 300.' The effect of the victory was tremendous and threw open the road to Jhansi. Following the siege and capture of the latter place, Steuart commanded his brigade to the conclusion of the Central India Field Force's operations, being present at the battles of Betwa, Kunch and Golauli. Steuart retired from the 14th Light Dragoons while stationed at Newbridge in June 1861. He was appointed Colonel of the 11th (Prince Albert's Own) Hussars on 19 January 1873, and died on 22 May of the same year.

Refs: WO 25/546; Historical Record of the 14th (King's) Hussars (Hamilton); History of the XIII Hussars (Barrett); The Rebellious Rani (Smyth).



The campaign pair to Lieutenant Charles Combe, 3rd Light Cavalry, recommended for the Victoria Cross for gallantry at the battle of Khushab

(a) INDIA GENERAL SERVICE 1854-94, 1 clasp, Persia (Cornet C. Combe, 3rd Lt. Cavy.)

(b) INDIAN MUTINY 1857-59, 1 clasp, Central India (Lt. C. Combe, 3rd Bombay Cavy.) *very fine* (2) £2500-3000

Charles Combe, the son of Charles James Fox Coombe, gent., was baptised in the parish of Hackney, Middlesex, on 23 June 1837. He was educated at Monsieur Bahon's College in Honfleur and at Mr Staines' establishment in London. He was nominated a Cadet for the Bombay Cavalry by Russell Ellice, Esq., on the recommendation of his uncle, Harry Combe, and sailed for India on 18 September 1855, being appointed Cornet four days later. He arrived at Bombay on 28 January 1856 and was posted to the 3rd Bombay Light Cavalry at Rajcote, where he was soon settled in a bungalow, better than the ones usually rented by subalterns because it had an upstairs room. For this he paid £42 per annum unfurnished. He employed a married butler at 30 shillings a month and a boy at 16 shillings a month. To start with his daily routine consisted largely of drill: '...begun drill,' he told his family in one of his many letters, 'which is rather hard work; five o'clock is the time I get up, and after a cup of tea, I ride down to drill, which lasts till about 7.30; at 12, I have an hour more carbine, &c. drill, and in the afternoon have another hour and a half foot drill. We dine at mess at seven, and generally get to bed about ten.'

In mid-September 1856 the 3rd Bombay L.C. was informed that the whole regiment, except a few unlucky Cornets who were additions to strength, would be included in the Persian expedition. Combe recorded the Cornets' anxiety at the thought of being left behind, telling his family they were all 'frantic at the thought of not going with the regiment, and are trying every body with influence at Head Quarters. The weather gets very hot again, but nobody thinks of that, or anything but 'service in Persia'.' To the relief of Combe and the rest permission was received for all the Cornets to go with the regiment on the eve of departure. The 3rd left Rajcote on 1 October 1856, in heavy rain, and commenced the two week march to their port of embarkation. Combe evidently enjoyed the journey: 'This is a very jolly life,' he wrote 'we march at about two a.m., halt about seven, have two hours 'stables', after which tents are pitched, and breakfast prepared, stables again in the evening, dine at six, and 'to bed' very soon afterwards in the small tents; the large ones and baggage going on to the next stage about nine o'clock.'

Having secured Bushire on the Persian Gulf, the expedition was reinforced by troops under Major-General James Outram, and advanced inland to Boorzgoon on 3 February 1857. Having failed to draw the Persians to battle, Outram's force started back towards the coast believing the the enemy had dispersed into the hills. However on the night of the 7th, Persian units attacked the rear guard. Outram deployed and waited for first light. At the first streak of dawn, Captain J. C. Graves of the 3rd galloped off to reconnoitre the enemy position. 'By the time [Graves] returned it was pretty light,' wrote Combe 'we discovered the Persian army drawn up in 'battle array' - in line; their right resting on a village (Khooshab), their left extending to a second village ... On their right front and flank was a ditch, full of skirmishers, and in front of their centre were two small mounds, which served as redoubts for their guns. Large bodies of cavalry were formed up on each flank. It was rather misty, but a sharp cold wind soon cleared the mist away, and made us long to be moving. We had not long to wait. Forbes, giving the order to mount, put himself at our head, and gave the order: 'The line will advance. Draw swords. Third Squadron. Walk. Trot. Gallop' and when within a hundred yards of the enemy 'Charge!' Combe's squadron crashed into a perfectly formed square; the infantry formation which the Persians had learnt from European advisers would invariably withstand the most determined cavalry attack. But, on this occasion, the nerve of the attackers was such that they simply cut cleanly through the square; some riding their horses on to the waiting bayonets and fighting their way out on foot. Combe's horse was wounded in five places (but survived to be renamed 'Khoosh-ab') and he himself had a narrow escape from three musket balls which he later found lodged in a 'guernsey' which he carried over his pistol holster. With the devastating charge of the Third Squadron of the 3rd Bombay Light Cavalry and some effective artillery fire, the battle was over almost before it had begun. The Persians left 700 dead on the field, and Outram returned to Bushire on the 9th.

Outram recommended no less than fifteen men for the Victoria Cross at Khushab, and wrote 'After the fullest inquiry, I am myself quite satisfied that the undermentioned officers and men of the 3rd Regiment of Bombay Light Cavalry are well deserving of the high distinction of the Victoria Cross for their conduct at Khooshab, on 8th February, 1857, for which I beg earnestly to recommend them. The order of merit in my opinion is as I have placed their names: - Captain Forbes, Lieutenant and Adjutant Moore [Ritchie 1-75], Captain Moore [Ritchie 1-76], Lieutenant Malcolmson, Captain Wren, Lieutenant Spens, Cornet Combe, Cornet Hill, Jemadar Runjeet Sing, Trooper Lall Khan.'

Despite it being an age in which the Victoria Cross was more easily won, it must be said that even then it was thought that Outram had considerably 'overdone' his recommendations, and of the above only Malcolmson and Adjutant Moore received the coveted decoration. There was very little fighting after Khushab, and, on 4 April 1857, a peace was signed in Paris and the last war fought by the Honourable East India Company came to a close.

Cornet Combe returned to India and was promoted Lieutenant on 4 October 1857. Following the mutiny of the Bengal Army, he served with his regiment in 1858 as part of the Nerbuddah and Central India Field Forces under Sir Hugh Rose. On 16 March 1858, while himself sharing no less than 'eighteen servants, five horses, two ponies, six bullocks and four carts' with one other subaltern, Combe complained of the vast numbers of camp followers that always accompanied an army on the march in India. 'Our line of carts now extends 14 miles, cart behind cart, to say nothing of hundreds of elephants, camels, bullocks, led horses, mules, donkeys, &c. which go straggling all along the line. The rearguard has an endless job with them: 'The 3rd Cavalry will do this or that' seems to be the everlasting order.'

The object of Sir Hugh's advance, the city of Jhansi, contained an 11,000-strong rebel garrison commanded by the Rani herself, who to Combe's mind was 'a wonderful woman, very brave and determined'. 'It is fortunate for us that the men are not all like her!' On 20 March, Sir Hugh sent forward the cavalry and horse artillery of the 2nd Brigade to commence the investment of Jhansi, and instructed Colonel Scudamore (see Lot 73) and Major Gall to establish seven cavalry flying camps with horse artillery around the perimeter of the city in order to prevent any rebels escaping as they had at Rathgahr. From each of the camps, vedettes and outposts were sent out to ensure that no one left the city unobserved. 'The orders, wrote Combe, 'were to spare nobody over sixteen years - except women, of course'. 'Our servants brought us out a few clean shirts, and we have a mussuk [leather bag] of cold water poured over our head and shoulders by way of a bath, but we have not regularly undressed since the 19th ult. ... at night we take turn about every two hours sleeping on the ground, wrapped in our cloaks' ... 'My man brought out my desk, and I amuse myself scribbling.'

A breach in the walls of Jhansi having been made practicable, the assault went in on 3 April and the city was taken in two days of heavy fighting. At about 4 p.m. on the first day Combe saw a large body of enemy horsemen attempting to make good their escape. 'We went at them', he reported to his family, 'and drove many back; about 100, however, got through. A troop of ours, and some Irregular Cavalry pursued them seven miles, cutting up parties of fugitives. Next morning our flag was flying from the highest tower, but we were very much disgusted to find the Queen [the Rani] had escaped; how, when or where we couldn't imagine. We were sent all over the country in pursuit, and one of our troops overtook her at Banda 20 miles off. Her escort made a hard fight of it, and though our fellows did their utmost and killed nearly every man, she got away, her smart saddle, etc., falling into our hands.'

Having spent three weeks in Jhansi gathering supplies and ammunition, Sir Hugh went in pursuit of the rebels. The weather was now exceedingly hot, and Tantia Topi, wily as ever and intending to wear down Rose's force in the heat, took up a position at Kunch. On 6 May, Rose's infantry defeated Tantia Topi's forces, but had no strength to follow up the victory. The cavalry and horse artillery gave chase for a short distance but they too were exhausted and the pursuit had to be abandoned. On 8 May Combe wrote: 'This is most killing work. We had nothing to eat from dinner on the 6th to this morning. We lost seven men of the 71st yesterday from sunstroke, three the day before, and four officers are not expected to live. It is almost impossible for Europeans to stand the heat. The glass registers 115° in the best tents so you can imagine what it is in the burning sun. My sword was so hot yesterday I really could hardly hold it. Everything is hot - even the water in the wells which, bye the bye, are very scarce ... Sir H. Rose is suffering very much. He was lying in a dhoolie yesterday, covered with wet clothes [but] he insisted on getting up, and even joining in the pursuit, falling twice from his horse from the heat. He is a most determined fellow ... Even the flying rebels gave in yesterday, after running for eight miles, begging for water.'

Tantia Topi now fell back to Calpee, one of the strongest forts in India, and joined forces with Rao Sahib, a nephew of the Nana. The Rani of Jhansi was also there, and inspired by her determination they marched out on 22 May to attack Sir Hugh Rose's depleted force. The action took place at Golowli, and despite being attacked at the hottest part of the day, the British fought well and once more drove the rebels back in retreat. After ten days, spent at Calpee, Rose received word that Tantia Topi, the Rani and Rao Sahib had taken Gwalior from Maharajah Scindia and that the latter's army had gone over to the rebel side. Accordingly Rose marched out on 6 June, leaving behind a small force, which included Combe, with instructions to follow as soon as it was relieved by troops from Bengal. Over forty officers had gone off sick to Cawnpore, and Combe found himself 'the only cavalry officer in this force [and] I command,' he wrote with glee, 'the whole Brigade!! (about 130 men) under Brigadier Combe! I get off orderly officer, picquet, rearguard and a variety of duties it would be 'infra dig' for a Brigadier to perform!'

Combe's 'Brigade' caught up with Rose at a point five miles east of Morar in mid-June, and was subsequently placed in the brigade commanded by Major-General Robert Napier. On the 16th Rose's force defeated the rebels at Morar, and next day preparations began for an attack on Gwalior. Combe however was left at Morar with whatever cavalry could be spared - sixty-two sabres of the 14th Light Dragoons; 104 of the 3rd Bombay Light Cavalry; 245 of the Hyderabad Cavalry; the 3rd and the 'Eagle' Troops of Bombay Horse Artillery - under Napier, who had been given orders to pursue the enemy if they retreated that way from Gwalior. On the 19th Rose occupied Gwalior, and early on the 20th Napier moved out to cut off the rebel retreat. Twenty-five miles down the road, the rebels were intercepted at Jowra-Alipur. Combe described how the men of the Hyderabad Cavalry first made contact. They 'discovered a large force encamped under some trees. Two camel-riders came out and enquired who we were. "Who are you?" said our men. "Tantia Topee and the Nawab's Army" was the answer. "Well, we are Sir Hugh Rose's army"; upon hearing which they hurried away. Our men killed one of them, the other got back; and from the commotion, etc., which followed his arrival, it was evident that his news was unexpected and disagreeable!'

Meanwhile Rose had learnt that the rebels were in greater strength than he had understood when he had ordered the pursuit and accordingly despatched a reinforcement of two guns, half a squadron of 14th Light Dragoons and two squadrons of irregular horse under the command of Major Richard Meade (Ritchie I-109). Despite the enemy's strength, Napier resolved to attack forthwith and, under rebel artillery fire, the cavalry and horse gunners charged. After a brief resistance the rebels fled leaving 300 to 400 dead on the field, and losing 25 guns, ammunition, elephants, tents and baggage. At 3:00 am on the following morning, the reinforcements arrived to learn of the victory which brought the Central Indian Campaign to a close. Combe returned to England on sick certificate in April 1859. He never returned to India, and resigned his commission on 15 September 1860, concluding a short but highly active military career.

Refs: IOL L/MIL/9/2 35 ff 84-94; The History of the British Cavalry Vol II (Anglesey); John Company's Last War (English).



The Indian Mutiny medal to Doctor John J. Halls, Civil Surgeon, one of the gallant defenders of Arrah in 1857 and author of the best contemporary account of the affair

INDIAN MUTINY 1857-59, no clasp (Dr. John A. Halls) note incorrect second initial, *extremely fine and very rare*
£2000-2500

John James Halls was born on 1 September 1820. Educated at Canterbury (B.A. 1842) Halls qualified as M.R.C.S. in 1846 and F.R.C.S. in 1850. He was appointed an Assistant Surgeon in the Bengal Service on 10 June 1854, and posted as Civil Surgeon to the District of Shahabad on 16 April 1855, where he became register of deeds and Marriage Registrar on 2 February 1856.

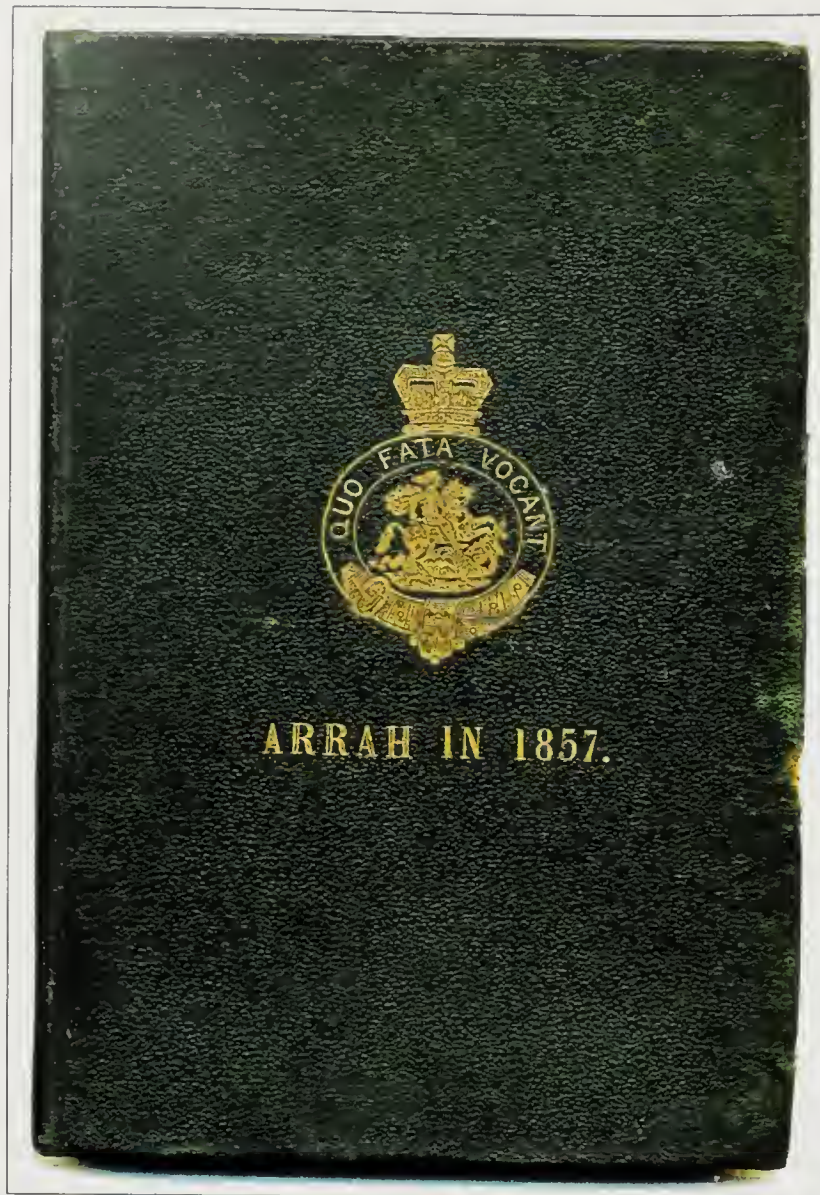
At the outbreak of the Mutiny, Doctor Halls was stationed at Arrah, a small town not far from Dinapore in the District of Shahabad. It was subsequent to the outbreak at Meerut and the massacre at Delhi that the European inhabitants of Arrah realised that they too were at great danger. On the 9th of June a meeting of the male Europeans was held at the magistrates house whereby it was decided to evacuate the women and children to Dinapore, where the presence of 600 men of H.M.'s 10th Regiment would ensure their safety. That evening, the ladies and children were embarked in the guard-boat and conveyed by river to Dinapore, accompanied by Mr Vicars Boyle, the resident railway engineer. However, for the most part, all the remaining non-official males also 'made the best of their way, some by boat, some on horseback, to Dinapore, carrying with them a formidable battery of double-barrelled guns and revolvers.'

Thus the party at Arrah was reduced to just six officials, subsequently joined by three railway engineers, including Vicars Boyle upon his return from Dinapore. These six, Mr Littledale (the Judge), Mr Coombe (the Officiating Collector), Mr Wake (the Magistrate), Mr Halls (the Civil Surgeon), Mr Colvin (the Assistant Magistrate) and Mr Field (the Sub-Deputy Opium Agent), all moved into the Judge's house which they left by day to carry on their public business as usual, and by night to patrol the town in turn, accompanied by a force of native police and watchmen.

When, on the 25th of July, news was received that the native troops at Dinapore had mutinied and were headed for Arrah, the Europeans moved to Mr Vicars Boyle's residence which, defying the sarcastic comments of his colleagues, he had fortified by bricking up the veranda arches and placing numerous sandbags against the walls. To augment the large supply of rice, grain, biscuits, water, brandy and beer already stored there, they brought with them a few dozen cases of port and sherry, which belonged to Doctor Halls, and settled into their little fortress. Here they were joined by the Muslim Deputy Collector, two native servants, six Eurasian volunteers, and fifty Sikhs, recently arrived from Patna in charge of treasure, whose loyalty they were obliged to take on trust.

No sooner had they bricked themselves up in the building than the mutineers arrived in Arrah, looted the Treasury of 70,000 rupees, broke open the gaol and, joined by the prisoners, guards, and hundreds of bandashes, charged down upon Boyle's two-storeyed fortified building, 'shouting like demons and firing as fast as they could'. This first attack was held off but, as Doctor Halls recorded, very much to the surprise of the defenders:

'The first rush of the vast force was certainly the most fearful: and, judging of the feelings of others by my own, I suspect few of us had much hope beyond that of selling our lives as dearly as possible. Indeed, had the rebels had the pluck to advance, they might have kicked down our defences, or have scaled the walls and overwhelmed us by their weight of numbers. Fortunately, however, they had *not*; and, when this their first attack had been repulsed, our hopes began to revive, especially as we all escaped providentially without a wound, and expected that relief must shortly come from Dinapore.'



Although all were unhurt, most of them had experienced narrow escapes, including the gallant Doctor, 'Three inches difference in a bullet's direction, on two separate occasions, and I should not be writing to you now: on a third, a brick behind which I was squinting, to get a shot at a Sepoy, was shattered by a ball, a great quantity of the fragments and brick-dust flying into my face and eyes, making me for a second or two fancy myself hit. Many others of our party could tell similar stories.'

Day after day the firing continued as the mutineers, having failed to smoke the defenders out by setting fire to a pile of chillies, slowly approached the building by digging a deep mine. A party of Sikhs ran out one night to grab the mining tools; and with these a counter-mine was sunk. The Sikhs behaved splendidly, Halls wrote, answering the mutineers' offer of 500 rupees for every European they brought out with 'sarcastic remarks and musket bullets'. They both designed and carried out 'some of the most important measures for the safety of the garrison'; and not only enabled the enemy's mining-tools to be turned against them by their stealthy sallies at night but also procured some sheep to enliven the garrison's boring diet. Yet Halls confessed that, bravely as they and the rest of the garrison fought, he had never thought that they could possibly survive unless relief arrived within one or two days.

The relieving force was slow in coming and the first attempt ended in disaster when a column under Captain Dunbar of the 10th Foot, despatched by General Lloyd from Dinapore, was ambushed when just a few miles from Arrah. Out of 400 men, mainly from the 10th Foot and 37th Foot, nearly 200 were killed and another 60 to 80 wounded, the survivors eventually making their way back to Dinapore. General Lloyd made no further efforts to help the garrison at Arrah. But a more enterprising officer decided to assume personal responsibility for the relief. This was Major Vincent Eyre, an elderly artillery officer who was on his way from Calcutta to Allahabad with his battery when he heard of the plight of the garrison at Arrah. Persuading Captain L'Estrange, who was at Buxar with a detachment of 160 men of the 5th Fusiliers, to join him, he immediately marched to Arrah on his own responsibility.

Defeating the mutineers at Gujraganj, where they had hoped to check his advance, he sent them flying from Arrah, relieved the grateful garrison, pursued the rebels towards Jagdishpur, and, proclaiming martial law, hanged thirty wounded prisoners as well as various native officials who had entered Kunwar Singh's service.

Doctor John Halls died on board SS Ceylon on 6 November 1860, whilst on passage to England. His account of the defence of Arrah, entitled *Two Months in Arrah in 1857*, was published in London later that same year. It was reprinted in 1893 in a volume entitled *Arrah in 1857*, together with an account of the relief of Arrah by Charles Kelly, the whole edited by Lieutenant G. F. T. Feather, 5th Fusiliers. Just 103 copies of *Arrah in 1857* were printed, of which copy Number 46 accompanies this Lot.



The Indian Mutiny medal to Private John Overmass, 32nd Light Infantry, massacred at Cawnpore

INDIAN MUTINY 1857-59, no clasp (J. Overmass, 32nd L.I.) edge bruise, otherwise extremely fine and rare

£2000-2500

Private John Overmass was massacred in the boats at Sati Chowra on the banks of the river Ganges, near Cawnpore, on 27 June 1857.

A detachment of the 32nd under Captain John Moore (qv), with 2 Lieutenants and 87 N.C.O.'s and men, was stationed at Cawnpore. All were massacred. Medals to these poor unfortunate men, however, are of the utmost rarity and it is probable that, for the most part, they remained unclaimed and were eventually returned to be melted down.

Ref: Casualty Roll of the Indian Mutiny (Tavender).



The Crimea and Indian Mutiny campaign pair to Lieutenant Frederick Saunders, 84th Regiment, massacred at Cawnpore in the most horrible of circumstances - *'Mr. Saunders was nailed down, hands, feet, and knees; and that these barbarians the first day cut off his feet and ears and nose, and so left him until the next day when some other pieces were cut off him, and he died. He had killed six men, and would have shot Nena Sahib also, that terrible ruffian, but his revolver did not go off'*

(a) INDIAN MUTINY 1857-59, no clasp (Lieut. F. J. G. Saunders, 84th Regt.)

(b) TURKISH CRIMEA 1855, British issue, unnamed as issued, fitted with usual small ring for suspension, together with a contemporary news cutting reporting the full circumstances of his terrible death and accompanying engraved portrait of him in the uniform of the Turkish Contingent, *the first sometime polished, otherwise good very fine and excessively rare* (2) £5000-6000

Frederick John Gothleipe Saunders, the fifth son of Colonel Richard Saunders, 60th Rifles, was born at Glanmire, Co. Cork, on 5 April 1826 and commissioned Ensign by purchase in H.M.'s 56th Regiment on 29 December 1846. He exchanged into H.M.'s 84th on 2 March 1847, and married Sarah Herbert at St John's, Paddington, in April 1847. He joined his regiment in India on 19 August of the same year, and was promoted Lieutenant without purchase on 13 July 1850. He left India on 8 May 1854 to serve with the Turkish Contingent under Sir H. Vivian during the Crimean War and returned to Madras on 28 December 1856. He offered to serve in the Persian expedition in any capacity but was not employed and so rejoined his regiment at Rangoon.

At the outbreak of the Mutiny at Meerut on 10 May 1857, the 84th were at Dum Dum, just north of Calcutta, and here the regiment waited the arrival of further European troops with a view to forming part of a powerful moveable column. But as a result of the many urgent requests from the civil authorities in the North West Provinces, it was decided to push members of 'E' and 'G' Companies, namely Lieutenants Saunders and O'Brien (see Lot 56) and Ensign Magrath, together with five sergeants, five corporals, 2 drummers and eighty-eight privates, immediately up country. While it is known that they left daily in parties of between fifteen and twenty men over five days commencing on 19 May, it is impossible to say which group Saunders accompanied or on which day he started. Curiously it appears that his wife and nine year old son, Frederick Herbert, went with him. By 3 June the detachment from 'E' and 'G' Companies, such as it was, had arrived at Cawnpore.

The Cawnpore Division, commanded by Major-General Sir Hugh Massy Wheeler, consisted of some 3,000 native troops, outnumbering the European officers and men of the station by about ten to one. Despite the fears of many European civilians, Eurasians and Christian natives, Wheeler initially believed that a local uprising was unlikely, but in order to reassure them he announced that shelter would be provided in the military barracks which stood in an exposed position on a plain to the east of the city about a mile from the Ganges. By 4 June, however, Wheeler's optimism had been dispelled, and all waited apprehensively for the storm to break.

Soon after the siege began on 6 June, Saunders was wounded in the left breast by grapeshot. Nevertheless, he continued to take an active part in the defence of the entrenchment and quickly emerged as one of Wheeler's most unyielding and determined officers. In a little over three weeks some two hundred and fifty members of the garrison, originally consisting of 1,000 souls, had been killed, chiefly by the blazing sun and heavy artillery fire. A spy, having entered the entrenchment in the guise of a water carrier, carried a report to rebel leaders that the British, short of food and much reduced in numbers, might be willing to surrender. A short letter was drawn up and on 25th it was delivered to General Wheeler by the wife of a Eurasian merchant held prisoner by Nana Sahib. The letter was addressed to 'The subjects of Her Most Gracious Majesty, Queen Victoria', and read: 'All those who are in no way connected with the acts of Lord Dalhousie, and are willing to lay down their arms, shall receive safe passage to Allahabad.'

General Wheeler was irritated by its tone, and together with a number of younger officers was in favour of rejecting it outright. Saunders, for his part, 'raised his voice against putting any trust in the word of the rebels, and was for continuing the struggle to the last'. But Captain John Moore (qv), 'a tall, fair-haired, blue-eyed Irish officer' of H.M.'s 32nd Regiment, who had taken over the direction of the defence after Wheeler and other senior officers had become incapacitated, prudently pointed out that the wet weather, now overdue, would soon wash away the mud walls of the entrenchment, fill up the rifle pits and dampen the remaining powder, making the continuation of the defence impossible. Persuaded by Moore's arguments, Wheeler decided to surrender and at length a deputation of officers went down to Satichura Ghat on the Ganges to see what arrangements the rebel leaders had made for the evacuation of the garrison by boat to Allahabad. After some negotiation it was agreed that the garrison would give up the entrenchment and march down to the Ghat under arms on the 27th. The appointed hour duly arrived and the exodus began, but soon after the refugees reached the Ghat, the rebels treacherously opened fire.



Saunders succeeded in clambering into a boat, but quickly jumped overboard in mid-stream in order to get away from the inferno of fire. On reaching the shore he was seized by the rebels, and stripped of his sword, but managed to retain his concealed revolver. Perhaps owing to his commanding manner, he escaped the fate of the majority of other adult male survivors who were at once rounded up and shot. The women and children (including Sarah Saunders and young Frederick), who survived the initial slaughter were, of course, taken off to the Nana's headquarters at the Savada House before being moved to that house of horrors, the Bibighar.

Saunders demanded an audience with Nana Sahib, and followed by a few soldiers of the 84th, who had 'determined to share the fate of their commander', he was duly brought before the rebel leader. He then performed an astonishing act of defiance. 'Upon getting near the Nana', a contemporary newspaper reported, 'he dashed forward through the guards by whom he was surrounded, shooting down five of them with his revolver, and firing the sixth round at the Nana, but unfortunately without effect. A few moments later he was stretched and crucified; his nose, ears hands and feet were cut off.' He was then 'left mutilated, bleeding and roasting in the sun until the next day when further and more horrible cruelties were perpetrated, until death relieved him from his unutterable agony. A body of cavalry ... charged over him, each man of which cut at him as he passed, until he was literally hewed into pieces.' According to the report, 'Lieutenant Saunders left a wife and two sons [sic] to weep his loss, and a wide circle of friends to hold in honoured remembrance his terribly glorious end.' Evidently the report was written before the fate of his family became known in England. Sarah Saunders and her son were butchered in the Bibighar on 15 July.

The first hard news of Saunders' fate appears to have been reported by an N.C.O. of the 84th who arrived at Cawnpore with Havelock's Allahabad Moveable Column. In a letter home, published in the London *Times* on 19 September 1857, he wrote: 'At Cawnpore, a cookboy, who was with G Company by some means escaped; being a Bengalee of course he could mix with the remainder of his class without detection. He is but a lad; he told us that Mr. Saunders was nailed down, hands, feet, and knees; and that these barbarians the first day cut off his feet and ears and nose, and so left him until the next day when some other pieces were cut off him, and he died. He had killed six men, and would have shot Nana [sic] Sahib also, that terrible ruffian, but his revolver did not go off.'

Refs: WO 76/228; WO 25/3240; Roll of Officers (84th) York & Lancaster Regiment (Raikes & Key); The York & Lancaster Regiment, 1758-199 (Wylly); The History of the Indian Mutiny (Ball); Cassell's Illustrated History of India; Cawnpore Massacre 1857 (Shepherd); Our Bones Are Scattered (Ward); The Times, 29 September 1857.



The rare Delhi D.C.M. pair awarded to Sergeant-Major J. H. Robinson, 8th Regiment, severely wounded in the assault of that city

(a) DISTINGUISHED CONDUCT MEDAL, V.R. (Sjt.-Mjr. J. H. Robinson, 1st Batn. 8th Regt.)

(b) INDIAN MUTINY 1857-59, 1 clasp, Delhi (Serjt. Major Jas. Hy. Robinson, 1st Bn. 8th Regt.) *contact marks, otherwise nearly very fine and rare (2)* £6000-8000

James Henry Robinson, 'Writing Clerk', was born in Kilbride, near Arklow, Co. Wicklow, circa 1821, and enlisted into the 40th Regiment of Foot at Athy, Wicklow, on 18 February 1845. On 1 June of that year he transferred to the 8th Foot, and a year later on 18 March 1846 purchased his discharge for £20, leaving the Army at Portsmouth. Curiously, however, he re-enlisted in the 8th a month later, joining the Depot as the regiment had gone to India. Appointed Lance-Corporal, he embarked for India on 1 August and rejoined headquarters on 20 December 1846. He was promoted Corporal on 14 October the following year, Sergeant on 10 November 1848, and became Sergeant-Major on 11 February 1857.

Following the outbreak of the Mutiny, the 8th King's joined the 5,000-strong British force on the Ridge before Delhi. At the assault on 14 September 1857, the regiment, reduced to about 250 all ranks, served in No. 2 Column, under Brigadier Jones of H.M.'s 61st (qv), and stormed the breach near the Water Bastion. Robinson was wounded by a musket ball which severely fractured the lower end of the humerus of his right arm with the result that the arm was permanently crippled, and his forearm bent at a right angle to the arm.

He was sent down country and invalided, receiving his discharge as medically unfit at Chatham on 3 May 1859. He went to live in Dublin on a small pension but quickly found it hard to survive. He applied for an increase in pension but was turned down in July 1859. On 6 March 1860, however, a submission was made for the award of the D.C.M. which at this period was linked to two types of monetary award, the annuity and the gratuity. The D.C.M. with annuity was to be given to N.C.O.'s with the rank of Sergeant or above, while the D.C.M. with gratuity, ranging from £5 to £15, was available to all those below commissioned rank. The gratuity was paid out of a special fund set up when the D.C.M. was instituted in 1854, but by 1857 this fund was virtually exhausted, with the result that only the D.C.M. with annuity for sergeants and above was awarded and then to only 22 Sergeants for service in the Mutiny (wholly or in part). Robinson received his D.C.M. and annuity of £10, raised to £15 in 1880, for 'his meritorious service and gallant conduct in the field more especially in the field before Delhi in September 1857'. He received an increase to his pension on 12 May 1868 bringing it to 1s.10d. per day. Robinson died from chronic gastritis in a rented room at 34 Usher's Quay, Dublin, on 4 December 1890.

Refs: WO 97/1412; WO 146/1/30; WO 12/2597; OMRS Journal, Vol 24, No. 4 (189).



The campaign pair to Lieutenant Duncan Charles Home, V.C., Bengal Engineers, Hero of the Kashmir Gate at the assault of Delhi who was killed in an explosion shortly afterwards

(a) PUNJAB 1848-49, 2 clasps, Mooltan, Goojerat (2nd Lieut. D. C. Home, Engrs. 3rd Cy. Sappers)

(b) INDIAN MUTINY 1857-59, 1 clasp, Delhi (Lt. D. C. Home, Bengal Engrs.) *the first with some edge bruises and surface marks, very fine, the second nearly extremely fine (2)* £6000-8000

Ex Roger Perkins Collection (Sotheby, December 1990) who acquired the medals directly from the family in 1982. The catalogue states that the "Cross, unfortunately, was lost in the 1920's. The children took it out of the house while 'playing soldiers' and it was lost in a field. Intensive searches then and later failed to locate it. After so many years it seems unlikely that it will ever be recovered."

Duncan Charles Home, the third son of Major-General Richard Home, Colonel of the 43rd Bengal Native Infantry, and Frances Sophia, daughter of Lieutenant-Colonel Charles Fraser, 7th Light Cavalry, was born at Jubbulpore, Central Provinces, on 10 June 1828. He was educated at Elizabeth College, Guernsey, from January 1841 to 1843, and afterwards for one and half years by Messrs. Stoton and Mayor at Wimbledon. He attended Addiscombe from 1845 to 11 December 1846, on which day he was commissioned 2nd Lieutenant in the Bengal Engineers, but undergoing the usual course of instruction at Chatham did not sail for India until 20 June 1848. He arrived at Calcutta in the *Barham* in the middle of October, and within a few days was despatched to the Upper Provinces to do duty with the headquarters of the Corps of Sappers and Pioneers then employed in operations before Mooltan. He was present at the siege and capture of that place and was afterwards present with the corps at the battle of Gujerat. He was subsequently posted to the 3rd Company of Sappers at Lahore. In October 1849 he was appointed to the Public Works Department, and became Assistant Executive officer, third division, Ganges Canal, until April 1852, when he was placed at the disposal of the Superintending Engineer, Punjab Circle, for employment in the Civil Engineers Department, being appointed Assistant to the Executive Engineer of the Bari Doab Canals at Malikpur. A year later he was appointed Executive Engineer of the first division of the Bari Doab Canal, and on 15 February 1854 was promoted Lieutenant. He was serving in this capacity at Madhopur when the Mutiny broke out in May 1857.

The insurrection did not at first affect him in his duties, but he was soon ordered to raise three companies of Punjab Sappers (or Pioneers) for service at Delhi from the Mazbi Sikh workmen employed on the Grand Trunk Road. He received the order one morning and the companies marched away the following evening under Lieutenant H. W. Gulliver, Bengal Engineers. At the beginning of July, Home raised two more companies of Punjab Sappers, and was later himself summoned to augment the small number of Engineer officers on the Ridge.

Home arrived at Delhi in August and on the 22nd was appointed a Field Engineer in orders. As part of the plan for the final assault on 14 September, Home and Lieutenant Philip Salkeld, also of the Bengal Engineers, were assigned to lead the Explosion Party which was to blow in the Kashmir Gate in advance of Colonel Campbell's No. 3 Column. At day break just as the British siege guns had ceased firing, Brigadier Nicholson gave the order to advance, leading Nos. 1 and 2 Columns himself from the Kudsia Bagh, while No. 3 Column issued from the vicinity of Ludlow Castle. Two hundred skirmishers of the 60th Rifles ran out to cover the storming columns, and instantly the walls of Delhi blazed with rebel musketry.

At the front of No. 3 Column, Home and Salkeld led forward their detachment which, carrying ladders and powder bags, comprised three British N.C.O's, fourteen Indian soldiers of the Bengal Sappers and Miners, ten men of the Punjab Sappers (or Pioneers) and a British bugler. When there was no more cover, the actual Explosion Party, consisting of all the Europeans and eight of the Indian Sappers, rushed in two small parties towards the gate. There are conflicting accounts of the heroic deed that followed but the most reliable should be those of the men who were actually there.

Duncan Home reported to Baird-Smith, the Chief Engineer, Delhi Field Force: 'Serjeants John Smith and Carmichael, Mahdo Havildar, all the [four] Sappers and myself arrived at the Cashmere Gate untouched a short time in advance of the remainder of the party under Lieutenant Salkeld, having found the palisade gate on the outside of the ditch and the wicket of the Cashmere Gate open, and three planks of the bridge across the ditch removed. As Serjeant Carmichael was laying his powder bag [containing 25lb] he was killed by a shot from the wicket. Havildar Mahdo was, I believe, also wounded about the same time. Lieutenant Salkeld, carrying the slow match to light the charge, now came up with a portion of the remainder of the party ... the fire from the wicket which was very severe [and] I slipped down into the ditch. Lieutenant Salkeld being wounded in the leg from the wicket, handed over the match to Corporal Burgess who was mortally wounded while completing the operation, Havildar Tillok was at the same time wounded while assisting Corporal Burgess into the ditch; Sepoy Rambeth was also killed at the same time. As I was assisting Lieutenant Salkeld into the ditch I think he was wounded a second time. The charge having exploded blew in the right leaf of the gate, on which I caused the regimental call of the 52nd Regiment to be sounded as the signal for the advance of the storming party. I caused the bugler [Hawthorne] to sound the call three times, after which the column advanced to storm and the gate was taken possession of by our troops.'

Sergeant John Smith recorded: 'As soon as the dust cleared I saw Lieutenant Salkeld and Burgess covered with dust. Lieutenant Salkeld's arms were broken. Lieutenant Home got out of the ditch leaving me in charge of the wounded, and went to the front after the Rifles had gone in.' Colonel Sandes in his *Military Engineer in India* records: 'Carmichael and Burgess died almost immediately. Salkeld, Home, Smith and Bugler Hawthorne were awarded the Victoria Cross. But Salkeld lived for only two days. Before he died, when he was too weak to do more than whisper "It will be gratifying to send it home," he received the red ribbon ... The Indian Sappers and Miners were rewarded with the Indian Order of Merit, promotion or grants of land; none was forgotten. This is the story of the bravest deed ever performed in India by Engineers or Sappers and Miners.' In 1876 Lord Napier of Magdala placed a memorial to the Explosion Party outside the Kashmir Gate.

Following the fall at Delhi, Home was attached to the pursuing column under Colonel Edward Greathed (see Lot 51), and was present at the successful action at Boolundshuhur on 28 September against the rebel force under Walidad Khan who had assumed authority over the district. Greathed's force rested that night at Boolundshuhur and next day Home was sent with a detachment to blow up Walidad Khan's fort at Maoighur. However, while engaged in that work one of the mines exploded prematurely and he was killed on the spot. His Victoria Cross, announced in the *London Gazette* on 18 June 1858, was sent to his father by post on 7 July 1858.

Refs: Hodson Index (NAM); Soldiers of The Raj (De Rhé-Philipe); The Military Engineer in India (Sandes); A History of the Indian Mutiny (Malleeson).



The Indian Mutiny medal to General Sir Edward Greathed, K.C.B., who commanded the 8th Foot at the assault of Delhi, and subsequently a 'moveable column' and an Infantry Brigade, for which he received the C.B.

INDIAN MUTINY 1857-58, 2 clasps, Delhi, Lucknow (Col. E. H. Greathed, H.M. 8th Foot) fitted with silver ribbon buckle, toned, nearly extremely fine £1500-2000

Edward Harris Greathed, the elder son of E. H. Greathed of Uddens, near Wimborne, Dorset, was born at South Audley Street, London, on 8 June 1812. He was educated at Westminster School and was commissioned Ensign by purchase in the H.M.'s 8th Regiment of Foot on 22 June 1832. Promoted Lieutenant by purchase in May 1833, he sailed with the regiment to the West Indies in November of that year and served there until February 1836. Having bought his Captaincy in April 1838, he served one year in Canada, and first arrived in India in 1846, having recently acquired his Majority, also by purchase. On the outbreak of the Mutiny he had held the rank of Lieutenant-Colonel for nearly three years.

Greathed arrived on Delhi Ridge in command of the 8th Foot on 30 June, and was present at the repulse of the enemy sorties of 9, 14 and 18 July. He commanded the 3rd Infantry Brigade in the repulse of the enemy attack of 23 July, and was selected by Archdale Wilson to command the column sent to occupy the Khoddsia Bagh and Ludlow Castle on 7 September, when the siege batteries were moved forward to commence breaching the city walls at a range of 180 yards. At the assault of the city on 14 September, the 8th Foot formed part of No. 2 Column under Brigadier William Jones (qv) of the 61st Foot, and took part in the storming of the breach near the Water Bastion. Inside the city Greathed met Lieutenant Noel Money (see Lot 103) of the Bengal Europeans, who remembered: 'Colonel Greathed of the 8th Queen's was now in the battery and seeing that I had lost my sword which had been stolen by a Sikh while I was laying the gun, he took a sword that had belonged to an officer of his regiment who had been killed just before, and gave it to me, saying, "Here, Money, this is one of our swords. If you use it as I saw you using your own a little while ago you will not disgrace it."'

Greathed served in the city for the next five days, and, although his manner of conducting the street fighting was condemned as 'most wretched', he was selected by Archdale Wilson to command the 2,500-strong moveable column which left Delhi on the 24th to pursue mutineers fleeing into Oudh. Moreover, Greathed was variously considered by his juniors to be 'a regular muff' who knew nothing; one who was 'certainly not the right man in the right place' being 'not only a perfect fool' but 'a funk stick', whose reputation at home was 'just a lot of blather'.

Having evacuated the column's wounded to Meerut after the action at Boolundshuhur, Greathed resumed his march on 3 October, hoping to effect a junction with Sir Henry Havelock's column and assist in the relief of the beleaguered garrison at Lucknow. On the 8th, however, Greathed decided to go to Bryjgarh in order to move closer to Agra, from which place he had been receiving a stream of urgent letters in 'every language, living and dead ... beseeching, commanding him to hasten at the utmost speed' to protect the European families, who, fearing attack by a large force of rebels concentrating at Muttra, had incarcerated themselves in the fort. Aware that the detour would prevent him from linking up with Havelock, Greathed felt unable to ignore the pleas and he marched at midnight on the 8th, proceeded by his cavalry and horse artillery. But after thirty-six hours word was received that the enemy no longer threatened Agra, and had withdrawn over the Kalle Nuddee, a stream about ten miles away. Accordingly, the leading units halted and waited for the infantry to catch up.

'When Greathed arrived in Agra the panic had subsided. Most of the mutineers who had arrived at Muttra from Delhi had dispersed to their homes. The others, whose reported approach upon Agra had been responsible for the flood of letters handed to Greathed during his march up the Grand Trunk Road, were now said to have retired nine miles. The column was 'not really needed', after all. Thus it was that the ladies, looking down upon it from the walls of the fort, watched it pass with expressions of disgust at its dirtiness rather than gratitude for its prompt arrival. Greathed took his men to the parade-ground south of the fort where some went immediately to sleep while others had their breakfast, bargained with native vendors of drinks and sweetmeats, or talked to the soldiers of the garrison who had strolled down from the fort. Most of the civilians in the fort wandered down to the parade-ground; so had thousands of inhabitants of the city who had come out 'to watch the camp being pitched, and to see what was going on'. 'It seemed like a fair more than anything else'.



The carnival atmosphere was shortlived. Quite unexpectedly a band of rebels disguised as jugglers turned on their audience of 9th Lancers, while elsewhere on the parade-ground the quarter guard of the same regiment was attacked by rebel Sowars wearing uniform similar to the 2nd Punjab Cavalry. Two troops of rebel cavalry thundered out of the high crops which bordered the parade-ground and heavy guns opened fire on the camp. 'Although taken so completely by surprise, the British troops reacted with a promptness and energy that one observer described as 'simply astonishing'. An officer galloped off to the fort to fetch Greathed who had gone there for breakfast; the infantry rushed to seize their arms; the cavalry to saddle their horses. The Bengal Artillery, though in quarters 'never the most amiable or the best disciplined' of troops, demonstrated once more that on service they were certainly inferior to none'. The round shot were coming in pretty fast,' Captain Barter wrote, 'and it was really beautiful to see the artillery prepare for service. Their guns were all in park and the horses unharnessed and yet it was perfectly marvellous the rapidity with which they got into action, the enemy shot all the time rattling amongst the guns and limbers.'

'Within minutes the British force was ready to repel the attack, many of the 75th in their shirt-sleeves, some of the 9th Lancers still in their stockinged feet. The troops in the fort marched out to support them, wearing bright new uniforms', fifes playing, drums beating, bayonets gleaming in the sunlight, making the walls 're-echo with the tramp of footsteps as they fell to the time of the music'. But their help was not needed. By the time they reached the parade-ground the rebels had broken and fled, losing all their guns and ammunition, chased away through the crops of bajra whose tall shattered stalks indicated the path of their flight'.

The column rested near Agra for four days before continuing towards Lucknow. Brigadier Hope Grant (Ritchie I-110) at Delhi, meanwhile, had received a note from the Secretary to the Government of the North Western Provinces at Agra, who despairing of poor old Greathed, informed him: 'You are to come on as sharp as you can; You are to come at once, by the mail if possible and take command.'

Greaded subsequently commanded the 3rd Infantry Brigade of the army under Sir Colin Campbell from 10 November to 9 January 1858, taking part in the relief of Sir James Outram's force at Dilkusha, and the defeat of Tantia Tope at Cawnpore on 6 December 1857. He was created a Companion of the Bath on 1 January 1858 and was promoted Colonel on the 19th following. Advanced to Knight Commander of the Bath in 1865, Greathed returned to England in 1859, and was placed on Half-Pay until 1872, when he was appointed to the command of the Eastern District for five years. In 1880 he was made Colonel of the H.M.'s 108th (Madras) Regiment of Foot and promoted General. He died at his oddly named family home, Uddens, on 19 November 1881.

Refs: Modern English Biography (Boase); WO 76/125; The Great Mutiny (Hibbert).



The Indian Mutiny medal to Colonel William Wilson, Bengal Horse Artillery

INDIAN MUTINY 1857-59, 2 clasps, Delhi, Lucknow (Lieut. W. Wilson, Bengal Horse Arty.) fitted with silver ribbon buckle, contact marks and edge bruising, otherwise nearly very fine £800-1000

Ex Tamplin collection, Sotheby, February 1985.

William Wilson was the son of William Wood Wilson, Bookseller, of Fulford, Co. York, and was born on 14 May 1831. He was educated at Rugby under Arnold, and later by Messrs. Stoton and Mayow of Wimbledon. He was nominated for a Cadetship in the Bengal Artillery by the chairman of the East India Company, Sir Henry Willock, on the recommendation of Abraham Wildey Robarts, M.P. He was examined and passed on 4 February 1846 and entered Addiscombe two days later. On 10 December 1847, he was granted a commission as a Second Lieutenant and following his arrival in India, served in 3 and 1 Battalions, Bengal Artillery. Promoted First Lieutenant on 3 March 1853, he next served in 3 Brigade and later in 6 Battalion. At the time of the Mutiny he was with 3 Company, 7 Battalion, but was transferred to serve with 2 Troop, 1 Brigade, Horse Artillery, at Delhi.

He was in the city on 11 May, when the European residents were massacred and the Magazine was blown up by Lieutenant Willoughby and his party. The explosion shook the city and could be heard distinctly thirty miles away at Meerut. Wilson fled the city with the Europeans, and soon after joined the force advancing on Delhi from Meerut under Archdale Wilson which engaged the rebels in the first set piece actions of the Mutiny fought on 30 and 31 May on the Hindun River. On the 30th the rebel forces, nominally commanded by the King of Delhi's son, Mirza Mughal, were decisively beaten and on returning to Delhi were so jeered and taunted that they returned to the attack next day when they were again routed in a battle mainly conducted as an artillery duel.

Following the junction between the troops from Ambala troops and those from Meerut, Wilson was present at Badli-ki-Serai on 8 June and at the immediate occupation of Delhi Ridge from which the British had been driven nearly a month before. On 25 August, he was present with the force, under Brigadier John Nicholson, which foiled the enemy's efforts to intercept the arrival of the siege train at Najafgahr, and, in September, he took part in the siege and capture of the city. He was also present during the siege and capture of Lucknow in March 1858, and thereafter served in the Rohilkhand Campaign which drove the Maulvi of Fyzabad into Oudh. For his services at Shajahanpur in Rohilkhand he was mentioned in Brigadier John Jones's despatch of 3 June 1858 (*London Gazette* 17 September 1858).

Promoted Second Captain on 27 August 1858, he was granted the Brevet rank of Major with effect from the following day. After the Mutiny he served in 7 Battalion and later 5 Battalion, then 24, 25 and 4 Brigades. He became 1st Captain in 1865, and Brevet Lieutenant-Colonel, Bengal Artillery, on 4 February 1874, and finally Brevet Colonel on 1 October 1877. Colonel Wilson died on 26 November 1878 at Heath House, Pibright, aged forty-seven.

Refs: Rugby School Register; Hart's Army List; Somerset House Wills.



The C.B. group of three to Major-General H. M. Wemyss, 1st Bengal Fusiliers, who was severely wounded in the attack on the Lahore Gate at the assault of Delhi

(a) THE MOST HONOURABLE ORDER OF THE BATH (Military) C.B., Companion's breast badge, 22 carat gold and enamels, hallmarked London 1856, maker's mark WN, complete with swivel-ring suspension and gold ribbon buckle

(b) INDIAN MUTINY 1857-59, 1 clasp, Delhi (Lieut. Hy. Manly Wemyss, 1st Eurn. Bengal Fusrs.)

(c) AFGHANISTAN 1878-80, no clasp (Lt. Col. H. M. Wemyss, 31 Bl. N.I.) mounted as worn from gold pin, *good very fine or better* (3) £3000-3500

Henry Manley Wemyss was the third and youngest son of Captain James Wemyss of Wemyss Hall, Fife, and was born on 8 November 1831 at Cupar. He was educated at Edinburgh Academy and at Addiscombe, having been nominated by H. St.G. Tucker, Esq., on the recommendation of his uncle, Captain Carnegie. He was appointed Ensign on 9 December 1848 and landed in India in January 1849, when he was directed to do duty with the 57th Bengal Native Infantry at Dinapore. In June of that year he was posted to the 1st Bengal European Fusiliers at Cawnpore. He was promoted Lieutenant on 18 April 1853. In February 1857 he married, at Ambala, Harriet Eliza Vincent, daughter of Captain David Sherriff, 48th Bengal N.I., thus becoming the brother-in-law of Lieutenant David Sheriff (see Lot 54).

At the outbreak of the Mutiny the 1st Bengal Europeans were directed to form part of the 1st Ambala Brigade, Delhi Field Force. Wemyss, who was then holding a staff appointment, immediately rejoined his regiment and reached it in time to take part in the battle of Badli-ki-Serai on 8 June. He subsequently advanced with the British force to Delhi Ridge.

Before Delhi on 14 July, he was wounded while leading his regiment in the sortie which cleared the suburb of Subzi Mundi. 'During these operations', in which the Fusiliers lost sixty-four killed and wounded, 'Lieutenant H. M. Wemyss, the Adjutant of the Regiment, was hit by a musket-ball on his side; but he refused to go to the rear, and continued to perform his duties.' Besides participating in numerous engagements between 8th June and 11th September, 'including the cutting out of a Battery of Light Guns at Ludlow Castle, on the 12th August, by a column under command of Brigadier G. D. Showers', he was present at the rout of the enemy at the Nudjufghur canal on 25 August when Brigadier John Nicholson's force killed eight hundred rebels and captured thirteen guns.

At the storm of the city on 14 September, the Fusiliers were selected by Nicholson to lead the First Column in the escalade of the shattered wall near the Kashmir Bastion and climb down to the main-guard by St James's Church. Here Wemyss was asked by Lieutenant Noel Money (see Lot 103), commanding the leading men of the regiment, how to proceed. Wemyss showed him a narrow lane leading to the Kabul Gate and told him to pass down it under the wall for safety's sake. Wemyss and regimental headquarters were delayed in following by having to clear some buildings near the Kashmir Gate. When this was accomplished they moved on and were themselves passing down another narrow lane when the commanding officer, Major George Jacob, fell mortally wounded. Captain Greville, the next senior officer, took command and at length headquarters caught up with Money near the Kabul Gate.

The next objective was the heavily defended Lahore Gate. Greville suggested breaking into some houses in order to take the enemy in the rear but Nicholson ignored him and called for a direct assault. Three desperate and costly charges followed. 'Anything I had been in before was child's play', wrote Money afterwards, 'It was here that I saw about twelve officers knocked out in five minutes.' 'General Nicholson, now in front, shook his sword in defiance at the multitude of the enemy around, who, with shouts and yells, poured grape bullets, and stones on the party below. Nicholson, "our best and bravest," was struck down mortally; wounded; Speke, "gentle everywhere but in the field" fell mortally wounded; Greville, in re-forming the Regiment, was shot through the right shoulder. Captain Caulfield (doing duty), Lieutenants Wemyss, Butler, and Woodcock, all fell at this time; as well as a large proportion of the rank and file.'

Following the capture of Delhi, Wemyss was granted leave but returned to the fray in January 1858 as Brigade Major of the Ambala Brigade and held that appointment until October. In spite of his prominent role at Delhi he was denied public recognition. An official source states: 'Not mentioned in despatches published of the Siege, from it is believed, the deaths of General Nicholson and Major Jacob and the despatches of the 1st Brigade not having been sent in from so many of the senior Officers being killed and wounded.'

Wemyss rejoined his regiment in December 1859, following a period of leave in England, and transferred to the Bengal Staff Corps on its creation. He afterwards held a succession of staff appointments in the 'new' Oudh Division until 1867, when he was posted officiating second-in-command of the 39th Native Infantry, his former regiment having joined the Home Establishment as the 101st (Royal Bengal) Fusiliers in 1861. Advanced to Captain in 1861 and Major in 1868, he succeeded to the command of the 39th N.I. in 1872, and the next year was given command of the Jhansi district in addition.

During the first phase of the Second Afghan War he commanded the 39th N.I. at Ali Musjid in March and April 1879. From the 11th of the latter month until August he commanded the Bhopal Battalion on garrison duties at Landi Kotal, and commanded a reconnaissance of cavalry and infantry to Kam Shiliman to watch the movements of the Mohmands.

During the second campaign he served as D.A.Q.M.G., Khyber Line Force, and accompanied the 1st Brigade in its advance to meet the Kabul troops at Kita Sang. In January and February 1880, he took part in the Lughman expedition against the Wazir Kugianis, and in April participated in the Hissarak Valley expedition. For services in the Afghan War he was made a C.B. (*London Gazette* 22 February 1881) and was mentioned in despatches. On 9 December 1879 he was promoted Colonel by Brevet. Wemyss, who was advanced to the rank of Honorary Major-General in 1890, died at Stanmore, Canterbury, on 17 November 1915.

Refs: Hodson Index (NAM); IOL L/MIL/10/48, 67, 76, 86 & 91; IOL L/MIL/10/ 56; IOL L/MIL/10/65; IOL L/MIL/17/2480; The History of the Bengal European Regiment (Innes).



The Indian Mutiny medal to Lieutenant D. F. Sherriff, 2nd European Bengal Fusiliers, mortally wounded in action before Delhi

INDIAN MUTINY 1857-59, 1 clasp, Delhi (Lieut. D. F. Sheriff, 2nd European Bengal Fusrs.) *good very fine*
£2500-3000

David Francis Sherriff, the only son of Captain David Sherriff, 48th B.N.I., and brother-in-law of Major-General H. M. Wemyss (see Lot 53), was born at Sitapur, Oudh, on 10 November 1835 and was educated at Glasgow and Ayr Academies. He was in India when nominated for the Bengal Army and formally entered the Service on 19 June 1855. Later the same month he was ordered to do duty with his father's old regiment at Allahabad. In August he was posted to the 15th Bengal N.I. at Peshawar, but was permitted to join the 16th N.I. en route at Lahore. Promoted Lieutenant in June 1856, he was transferred the same month at his own request to the 2nd Bengal Fusiliers at Subathu and on the outbreak of the Mutiny marched with them to Ambala, where he and the greater part of the regiment joined the 2nd Ambala Brigade, Delhi Field Force. Accordingly Sherriff was present at the battle of Badli-ki-Serai and arrived with the rest of the Field Force on Delhi Ridge.

At 4:00 am on 12 August 1857, Sherriff fell in with the 2nd Bengal Fusiliers before the city, and rendezvoused with a raiding force, comprising Coke's Rifles, H.M.'s 75th Regiment, and the 1st Bengal Fusiliers, under the command of Brigadier Showers. The object of the sortie was to take by surprise an enemy picquet near Ludlow Castle and capture any guns they came across. The sortie was divided into a left and right attack and Sherriff was detailed to take part in the former under Major John Coke. The approach was made with the utmost stealth, but scarcely had the last of the British sentries been passed when the party was met with a volley of musketry. Owing to the dark and the rebels poor aim no one was hit. Coke then ordered a charge, but as the enemy could not be found the advance was halted. Some light guns opened up from the other side of a garden wall. Sherriff, followed by a number of men, ran towards the wall hoping to find temporary shelter in its lee, but as he did so he was hit and mortally wounded. A bayonet charge followed and the enemy were driven off leaving four guns behind them for the high cost on the attacking side of 117 casualties.

Sherriff was taken to the rear. The Rev. John Rotton, a chaplain with the D.F.F., wrote of him: 'His bravery was very conspicuous on this occasion: though but a boy, he was foremost in leading on his men in a resolute and daring manner. From the time he received his wound all consciousness forsook him, and he lingered in the hospital of his own regiment, where he had the very best care and the very best skill which Surgeon Edward Hare, a practitioner of deservedly great reputation, could bestow, until some time during the day of the 14th August when he expired'.

General Sir W. D. Harris, who as a young company commander, shared a tent with Sherriff on the Ridge, had this to say about his subaltern's last hour of consciousness: 'He was so heavy a sleeper that I had always the greatest difficulty in getting him out of bed to go to parade, which took place at dawn every morning. The adjutant told me he had not been warned for this duty, but as my company was going he would go with it. On the serjeant calling me I roused him, and he at once started up, asking what was the matter, and on my telling him, commenced to dress. This struck me as so unusual that I joked him about it, and his apparent eagerness to be at the rebels. He did not reply to my badinage, but his silence did not then strike me as anything peculiar. About an hour afterwards he was shot through the head, and died in a few days, never recovering consciousness. Had he any sort of presentiment of his approaching fate?'

Two monuments were subsequently erected to Sherriff's memory in the Rajpura Cemetery, Delhi. They were inscribed:

Sacred to the memory of Lieutt D. Sherriff H.M. 2nd E.B.
Fusiliers killed in action against the rebels during the siege of
Delhi on 12th August 1857 erected by his brother officers as a
mark of their esteem and regard for him

+
In memoriam Lieut. David Sherriff 2nd Beng: Eur: Fusiliers
died 14th August of a mortal wound received before Delhi 12th
August 1857 beloved and mourned by all who knew him
Lord Jesus receive my soul

Refs: Hodson Index (NAM); IOL/MIL/10/61; IOL L/MIL/19/63; IOL L/MIL/10/65; IOL L/MIL/5/515; IOL L/MIL/17/2/480; Soldiers of the Raj (De Rhé-Phillipo); The History of the Bengal European Regiment (Innes); The History of the Royal Munster Fusiliers (McCance); The Chaplain's Narrative of the Siege of Delhi (Rotton).



The Indian Mutiny V.C. group of seven awarded to Trumpet-Major Robert Kells, 9th Lancers, later Yeoman Bed Hanger of the King's Body-Guard at the Tower of London

(a) VICTORIA CROSS, the reverse of the suspension bar inscribed 'Lance. Corpl. R. Kells, 9th Lancers', the reverse centre of the cross dated '28 Sep 1857'

(b) PUNJAB 1848-49, 2 clasps, Chillianwala, Goojerat ([Tru]mpr. R. Kells, 9th Lancers) *first three letters of rank obscured through contact wear*

(c) INDIAN MUTINY 1857-59, 3 clasps, Delhi, Relief of Lucknow, Lucknow (Tpt. Major Robert Kells, 9th Lancers)

(d) ARMY L.S. & G.C., V.R., small letter reverse (65 Trumpt. Major Robt. Kells, V.C. 19th Hussars)

(e) ROYAL VICTORIAN MEDAL, Silver, V.R., unnamed as issued

(f) JUBILEE 1887, clasp, 1897, bronze, unnamed as issued

(g) CORONATION 1902, bronze, unnamed as issued, *the two campaign medals with a good amount of contact wear, otherwise very fine and better (7)*

£80000-100000

Ex Needs Collection 1939 and Sotheby, November 1986.

Robert Kells was born in the parish of Meerut and attested for the 9th Lancers at Cawnpore at the age of thirteen years and nine months on 22 October 1844. He took part in the Second Sikh War being present at the Passage of the Chenab and at Chilianwala. He was appointed Trumpeter on 1 February 1849 and accordingly served in that capacity at Goojerat three weeks later. The outbreak of the Mutiny found the 9th Lancers at Ambala where its four squadrons were divided between the 1st and 2nd Brigades of the Delhi Field Force, which, having effected a junction with Brigadier Archdale Wilson's Meerut Brigade, routed the mutineers at Badli-ki-Serai, and established itself on Delhi Ridge. After three months gruelling service on the Ridge culminating in the Fall of Delhi, the 9th Lancers, reduced from 500 to 320 men, were detailed to join the Flying Column under Colonel Edward Geathed (see Lot 51) which on the 24th moved out to scour the Gangetic Doab.

Early on the morning of the 28th, the forward elements of the Flying Column arrived at a crossroads, leading in one direction to Boolundshuhur, and in the other to Maolghur. At dawn, gunfire was exchanged between Greathead's vedettes and rebel skirmishers, and it was soon confirmed that a strong body of the enemy intended to make a stand at Boolundshuhur where the 9th Lancers were to win no less than five Victoria Crosses. At the advance of the column, the enemy's artillery opened fire and the rebel cavalry fell back. The 75th Regiment pushed forward, capturing two 9-pounder guns, and drove off the enemy holding a strong position in the gaol and a walled serai in front of the town. Greathead's cavalry, comprising the 9th Lancers and Punjab Cavalry detachments under Lieutenants Probyn (qv), Watson and Younghusband, captured a third gun, and then took up the pursuit through the narrow streets of Boolundshuhur.



Captain William Drysdale, commanding the Lancers, had his horse shot under him at full speed and crashed to the ground, breaking his collar bone. Trumpeter Robert Kells and Private Robert Jordan immediately closed around their stricken commander and successfully defended him against a number of the enemy before carrying him out of danger. Jordan and Kells were subsequently mentioned in despatches by Brigadier Hope Grant (Ritchie 1-110), on 10 January 1858 (*London Gazette* 23 April 1858), and awarded Victoria Crosses (*London Gazette* 19 December 1858). Drysdale was recommended for the V.C. for courageous leadership on this occasion by Major Henry Ouvry, 9th Lancers, who was in overall command of the cavalry. This award, however, was not approved.

Kells continued with the Flying Column, and took part in the battle at Agra on 10 October 1857, and was afterwards present with his regiment at the Second Relief of Lucknow, the Siege and Capture of Lucknow, and throughout the campaigns in Rohilkhund and Oudh. He was appointed Trumpet-Major of his regiment on 24 May 1858. On 1 March 1859 he joined the 1st Bengal European Light Cavalry (retitled the 19th Hussars in 1861), having taken up the usual offer open to men whose regiments were leaving India to volunteer for another corps. His Cross was one of fifteen forwarded by the Secretary of State for War on 19 February 1859 for presentation in India. But by the time the Victoria Crosses arrived the 9th Lancers had been several months at sea on their way to England, and, in error, Kells' V.C. was returned to London along with those of Privates Patrick Donohoe and John Freeman of the 9th Lancers. The last mentioned were both decorated by Queen Victoria at Windsor Castle on 1 January 1860. Kells, himself, had to wait a while longer before receiving his coveted and much travelled award at Allahabad sometime later in 1860.

Kells was discharged from the 19th Hussars at Benares on 14 November 1868, as the result of a fall from his horse and disease 'due to climate'. He was then described as being thirty-eight years of age, six foot one tall, with a fresh complexion, blue eyes and light hair. He told the discharge board he intended to reside at Blackfriars Road, London.

On 1 January 1881 he was appointed a Yeoman of the King's Body-Guard at the Tower of London, and as such attended all the great state occasions of the late Victorian and early Edwardian periods, including Kaiser Wilhelm's visit to London in 1891. On the occasion of Edward VII's first inspection of his Body Guard on 25 June 1901, Yeoman Bed Hanger Kells, V.C., and Yeoman Messenger Sergeant Rule were both presented with the Royal Victorian Medal in silver. Robert Kells died in London on 14 April 1905 and was buried in Lambeth Cemetery.

Refs: WO 97/1290; Lummis VC Files (NAM); The Ninth (Queen's Royal) Lancers 1715-1903 (Reynard); The History of the King's Body-Guard (Linnell); The Yeomen of the Guard 1823-1903 (McInnes).



The Indian Mutiny medal to Major David O'Brien, 84th Regiment, an original defender commanding the small 84th detachment and severely wounded during the siege of Lucknow

INDIAN MUTINY 1857-59, 2 clasps, Defence of Lucknow, Lucknow (Capt. & Bt. Major David O'Brien, 84th Regt.)
very fine £3000-3500

David O'Brien was born at Fort St George, Madras, on 27 April 1828, and commissioned Ensign in the 2nd West India Regiment at the age of sixteen on 22 November 1844. He exchanged without purchase into H.M.'s 84th Regiment on 21 March 1845, and was promoted Lieutenant by purchase two years later on 21 July 1857.

At the outbreak of the Mutiny he accompanied some hundred men of 'E' and 'G' Companies up country to Benares where the native troops seemed only to be waiting for the signal of their confederates in the area to break out into revolt. Notwithstanding this dangerous state of affairs and the great temptation to retain the newly arrived reinforcements, H. C. Tucker, the Commissioner at Benares, wrote to Lord Canning on 27 May: 'I had another telegram this morning from Sir Henry Lawrence, begging me to spare no expense in hurrying up European aid. We send up all the men we get from Calcutta. Thirty-eight more will go this evening [via Cawnpore]'.

At Cawnpore the hand of fate was relatively kind to David O'Brien. Instead of being detained there like his brother officer Lieutenant Frederick Saunders (see Lot 48), who was to suffer all and more than that nominally entailed, he was ordered by General Wheeler to proceed to Lucknow just three days before Nana Sahib and his followers attacked Wheeler's entrenchment. Accordingly O'Brien together with some fifty N.C.O's and men arrived at Lucknow about three weeks before the Lucknow Residency was surrounded by rebel forces. During the siege the detachment of the 84th provided the garrison with its only central reserve and was frequently called from its post in the Residency building to assist in the repulse of the enemy at points of pressure.

O'Brien is recorded as having been severely wounded in the right arm during the siege but no date is given. For services in the defence he was granted an additional year's service and was also honourably mentioned by Brigadier Inglis in his despatch dated 26 September 1857, and received the thanks of the Governor-General in General Orders on 8 December 1857.

He subsequently rejoined the main body of the 84th which had fought its way up from Allahabad under Sir Henry Havelock, and served in the Alum Bagh garrison under Major-General Sir James Outram. He was present at the assault and capture of Lucknow, and later took part in Brigadier Douglas's campaign in Bihar against the guerillas under the Rajput noble Ammar Singh whose forces remained active until the end of 1858. 'Several times mentioned in despatches', O'Brien, who was promoted Captain on 21 July 1857, was advanced to Brevet Major on 24 March 1858. On 30 June 1865 he exchanged into the 4th West India Regiment (Sierra Leone) but died on passage to England on 27 May 1866.

Refs: WO 76/346; WO 12/11526; Roll of Officers (84th) York & Lancaster Regiment (Raikes & Key); The York and Lancaster Regiment, 1758-199 (Wylly).



The Indian Mutiny medal to Gunner Patrick Loan, Bengal Artillery, an original defender at Lucknow where he was also wounded

INDIAN MUTINY 1857-59, 2 clasps, Defence of Lucknow, Lucknow (Patk. Loan, 4th Comy. 1st Batty. Bengal Arty.)
good very fine and scarce £700-800

Patrick Loan was born at Portglenone, Co. Antrim, and enlisted at Glasgow on 6 October 1845, for unlimited service in the East India Company's Artillery, aged 20 years. He joined the E.I.Co. recruit depot at Warley Barracks, Brentwood, Essex, on 15 October and was there allocated to the Bengal Presidency, embarking for India on the *Royal Alice* on 30 October 1845. He arrived at Calcutta on 7 March 1846 and was posted to the 4th Company 1st Battalion Bengal Artillery. He served with 4/1 Bengal Artillery throughout the siege of Lucknow and was wounded by a bullet in the neck on 1st July 1857. He was promoted Bombardier on 3 September 1857 and granted an additional year's service for the defence of Lucknow. He volunteered for the Royal Artillery in May 1861 and was discharged at Woolwich on 23 August 1864, having served just over 18 years in India.

Ref: WO 97/1333; IOL L/MIL/10/180; L/MIL/10/125; L/MIL/9/32.



The Indian Mutiny medal to Captain James Alexander, Bengal Artillery, wounded during the defence of the Residency at Lucknow

INDIAN MUTINY 1857-59, 2 clasps, Defence of Lucknow, Lucknow (Lieut. I Alexander, Bengal Arty.) nearly extremely fine £2000-2500

Ex Tamplin Collection, Sotheby, February 1985.

James Alexander, the son of General Sir James Alexander (see Lot 22) and Maria, only daughter of Peter Bartholomew Long, was born at Dum Dum on 28 February 1833. He was educated by J. J. Barton at Portland Place, Brighton, and at the H.E.I.C. College, Addiscombe, having been nominated for the Bengal Service by the Hon. W. H. L. Melville at the recommendation of his father. He was commissioned Second Lieutenant in the Bengal Artillery on 9 December 1852 and proceeded overland to India on 20 February 1853. He reported his arrival at Fort William on 2 April and in May was posted to the Foot Artillery.

In the defence of the Lucknow Residency, Alexander commanded the guns between the Redan and Banqueting Hall, which, having been turned into a hospital, was to see a good deal of his fellow Artillery officers. *The History of the Bengal Artillery* records: 'On the 8th [September] Captain A. P. Simons [qv], who had long been laid up from the effect of the wounds he had received at Chinhath, died. He was a good and strictly conscientious officer. The only unwounded Artillery officer was Lieutenant Thomas [besides whom] ... There were only two now fit for duty, the two Alexanders. Lieutenant D. C. Alexander was severely burnt on the 17th of July by the premature explosion of a mortar charge; Lieutenant E. P. Lewin had been killed on the 15th July in the Cawnpore Battery while reconnoitring; Lieutenant J. H. Bryce, wounded on the 16th of July, died of cholera on the 18th of August; Lieutenant J. Alexander had been shot through the arm while laying an 18-pounder in the Hospital battery; Lieutenant D. McFarlan as before mentioned on the 20th of July; Lieutenant F. J. Cunliffe had been wounded in the knee by a musket ball; it was not at first serious, but fever supervened, and he died on the 22nd of September.' James Alexander received his wound on 15 August.

On 14 September the oft reiterated request of Major Apthorp, commanding Gubbins' Bastion, was granted by the authorities, and Alexander was sent to him for the purpose of silencing a rebel gun which had been 'frequently firing into the bastion, damaging embrasures, and knocking the musketry-proof shutters to bits'. Up to this point the authorities, being loathe to supply the enemy with roundshot, would only allow an Artillery officer to spend two hours in the bastion every day, firing one round every twenty minutes from the 18-pounder. 'On the 14th September Second Lieutenant J. Alexander came down to the bastion and made good practice with the 18-pounder. In twenty rounds he shattered the enemy's embrasure and damaged the carriage of their 24-pounder, which went out of action and could be clearly seen with its muzzle in the air.'

Martin Gubbins (qv) was delighted and invited Major Fulton of the Engineers to dinner, during which he 'told how Alexander had silenced the enemy's battery towards the south-west, and pointed out that their 'Garden' battery on the west side was still active. When dinner was over Fulton went out with Apthorp and some others to examine the effect of Alexander's twenty rounds. He could see with his glass that the enemy were at work on the damaged battery and, calling to Alexander to follow him, he went down into the bastion. As he reached the embrasure a 9-pound shot carried away the back of his head, leaving his face still on his neck, like a mask, untouched.'

Following the relief of Lucknow by Sir Colin Campbell, Alexander served with 4/1 Bengal Artillery at the Alum Bagh under Sir James Outram, and afterwards in the final storm of Lucknow under Campbell. On 30 October 1861 he was promoted 2nd Captain and for the next three years was on furlough. He served two years with the 24th Brigade, R.A., but died at Mian Mir on 21 February 1867.

Refs: Hodson Index (NAM); *History of the Bengal Artillery*, Vol. III (Stubbs); IOL L/MIL/10/56; L/MIL/10/65.



The Indian Mutiny medal to Major-General Thomas Wilson, C.B., C.I.E., 13th Bengal N.I., Deputy Assistant Adjutant-General and Chief Staff Officer to both Sir Henry Lawrence and Brigadier John Inglis, whose own diary of The Siege is one of the most widely quoted works in all the main histories of the Indian Mutiny

INDIAN MUTINY 1857-59, 1 clasp, Defence of Lucknow (Capt. T. F. Wilson, Dy.A.A. Genl.) *minor surface marks, otherwise good very fine* £2500-3000

Thomas Fourness Wilson was commissioned Ensign in the 13th Bengal Native Infantry on 24 April 1838. Three years later he commanded a detached company of the 13th at the capture of Chirgong Fort, and was subsequently mentioned in despatches. In June 1842 he took part in operations in Bundelkhund being present at the action of Punwarree. He was promoted Lieutenant the following month, and, in 1848-49, served with his regiment in the Second Sikh War being present at Ramnuggur, the passage of the Chenab, the battle of Goojerat and the subsequent pursuit of the Sikhs to the Afghan border.

The start of 1857 found Wilson in the rank of Captain and stationed with his regiment at Lucknow. He had been in the army nineteen years, but possessing 'neither influence nor the interest of in those high office' considered that he had little prospect of advancement. By the close of that tumultuous year, however, his distinguished service at the centre of the Lucknow command had earned him a niche in history and had given him the necessary experience to write a seminal account of the siege.

On 20 March 1857 Sir Henry Lawrence arrived in Lucknow to take up the post of Chief Commissioner of Oudh. 'On being nominated brigadier-general', records Malleeson in his *History of the Indian Mutiny*, 'Sir Henry was naturally anxious to have as his assistant adjutant-general a perfectly competent officer. He selected Captain Wilson, unknown to him before, but whom he had specially marked from the time of his first conversation with him. Brought at once into a confidential relationship with Sir Henry, Wilson speedily gained his admiration and esteem. His activity, his prudence, his cool daring, his stern and inflexible nature, the determination with which he carried out his orders, marked him as the man for the occasion. And when, after Sir Henry's death, Wilson served under Inglis in this same capacity, he won his confidence by the display of the same qualities which had gained for him the esteem of his predecessor.'

Wilson took up his appointment under Lawrence on 21 May 1857, and over the course of the next month was constantly with Lawrence, who, appearing to 'live in the saddle', rode about the Residency compound making all manner of preparations for its defence. On 30 June, Lawrence, against his better judgement, marched out with six hundred men to disperse the mutineers at Chinhut. During the early part of the action the rebel commander, Barkhat Ahmad, cleverly drew the British force on by making them think his men were in retreat.

'We thought the day was ours,' wrote L. E. R. Rees, 'and Captain Wilson, the Deputy Assistant-Adjutant-General, who throughout the action had behaved with great coolness, and was always in the thickest of the fight, came riding up, crying, "That's it! There they go! Keep it up! ..."' But, far from retreating, the rebels were executing a masterly flanking movement, and began to drive Lawrence's force back to Lucknow in great disorder. The guns were now the only hope, but the native gunners and drivers, witnessing the reverse, deserted. Before joining the headlong flight back to the Residency, Wilson, according to Lawrence's secretary, Mr Couper, spiked two of the abandoned guns and 'did the work with the end of a bayonet'. The survivors of the disaster at Chinhut eventually gained the comparative safety of the Residency compound and, having closed the gates, counted 313 killed and missing and 78 wounded.

Two days into the siege, fate overtook Sir Henry Lawrence. 'During the first day', wrote Wilson, 'the enemy threw an 8-inch shell from the howitzer they had captured from us into the room in which Sir Henry and Mr Couper were. It burst close to both, but without injury to either, and curiously enough did little damage. We now urged Sir Henry to leave the Residency and go elsewhere, or at least go down into the lower storey. This, however, he then declined to do, as he laughingly said he did not believe the enemy had an artilleryman good enough to put another shell into that small room. Later in the day some round shot came into the top storey of the Residency; and in the evening Mr Couper and I both pressed him to go below, and allow his writing things and papers to be moved; and he promised that he would next day ...

Towards 8 a.m. [on the 2nd] he returned, greatly exhausted (the heat was dreadful), and lay down on the bed with his clothes on, and desired me to draw up a memorandum as to how the rations were to be distributed. I went into the next room to write it, but, previous to doing so, I reminded him of his promise to go below. He said he was very tired, and would rest a couple of hours, and that then he would have his things moved. In about half an hour I went back into the room with what I had written. His nephew, Mr George Lawrence, was then lying on a small bed parallel to his uncle's, with very few feet between them. I went between the beds, and stood on the right hand side of Sir Henry's with one knee resting on it. A native servant was sitting on the floor pulling the punkah. I read what I had written. It was not quite in accordance with his wishes, and he was in the act of explaining what he desired to be altered, when the fatal shot came; a sheet of flame, a terrific report and shock, and dense darkness, is all I can describe. I fell on the floor, and, perhaps for a few seconds, was quite stunned. I then got up, but could see nothing for the smoke and dust. Neither Sir Henry nor his nephew made any noise, and in alarm, I cried out, "Sir Henry, are you hurt?" Twice I thus called out without answer. The third time he said, in a low tone, "I am killed." The punkah had come down with the ceiling, and a great deal of plaster, and the dust and smoke were so great that it was some minutes before I could see anything; but as they gradually cleared away I saw the white coverlet of the bed on which Sir Henry was laid was crimson with blood. Some soldiers of the 32nd now rushed in and placed Sir Henry in a chair. I then found that the back of my shirt was all blown off (I had on only a shirt and trowsers [sic]), that I was slightly wounded by a fragment of shell, that our chief was mortally wounded; and that the servant pulling the punkah had had one of his feet cut off by another fragment of the shell. Mr George Lawrence was alone of the four in the room unhurt.'

Lawrence was removed to another room and Doctors Hadow and Fayrer examined his injuries. They found the wounds to his left thigh and abdomen were mortal, and Fayrer correctly predicted that he had forty-eight hours to live. Before he died, Lawrence appointed Major John Sherbrooke Banks as Chief Commissioner, much to the annoyance of Martin Gubbins (qv), and Colonel Inglis to the command of the troops.

Inglis, his staff and engineer officers were more exposed to the enemy's fire than the other members of the garrison. Each post around the perimeter was manned by an independent unit, the members of which were kept under cover as much as possible, and only left their own position at night when on fatigue. Wilson and other Staff Officers were obliged to make dangerous and frequent inspections of all the outposts. Indeed, Malleeson records 'every night throughout the siege he visited the several posts, ready with advice, with assistance, with encouragement. His determined nature, prompt decision, were invaluable to all, from the Brigadier to the meanest private'. Inglis soon discovered that in Wilson he had not only a first-class Staff Officer, but also a most energetic soldier. His new chief said of him, 'he was ever to be found where shots were flying thickest' and remarked on 'his untiring physical endurance and bravery', as well as to 'his ever ready pertinent counsel and advice in moments of difficulty and danger'.

Following the explosion of the mine at dawn on 18 August under Sikh Square, which brought down the house on which Lieutenant Clifford Meacham (qv) was posted, Wilson took part in the desperate struggle to stop the rebels breaking through the breach in the outer wall of Sikh Square, and in the afternoon was one of the party under Inglis that blocked the gap, under point-blank fire from the rebels across the street, with heavy shutters brought from the Residency .

When at last the combined garrisons of Inglis and Outram evacuated the extended Residency position on the night of 22-23 November, Wilson hoped to have the honour of being the last man out. 'The retreat began at midnight, the lights being left burning in the entrenchment for the enemy to see. Inglis and Outram stood with Captain Wilson, Lieutenant Barwell, the Brigade Major, and Lieutenant Birch, watching each separate garrison march out in turn.' There should have been fourteen men from Innes' Post but when the last had gone by someone said that only thirteen had passed. 'Birch was therefore sent back to Innes' post, the extreme point of the position, to make sure that they were all withdrawn. The unaccustomed quiet and loneliness of the place struck coldly on his nerves, but he had to go on. There was no one there. When he had returned and reported to the two Generals, they bared their heads to the Baillie Guard in honour of the long defence, and then Outram waved his hand to Inglis to go first; but Inglis stood his ground, claiming it as his right to come behind. Outram smiled and held out his hand. "Let us go out together," he said; so they shook hands and walked side by side down the slope that led away from the battered gate. Behind them came the staff, both Wilson and Birch having determined to be the last man out. The hardships of the siege had told more heavily on Wilson; Birch sent him rolling down the slope with a charge he had learnt on the playing fields of Harrow, and was himself the last, as he thought, to leave the entrenchment.'

Birch, as is well known, was in fact the second to last out, Lieutenant Waterman of the 13th N.I. having fallen asleep in the Brigade Mess after his name was called out. He awoke at 2 a.m., and was shocked to find himself alone. He ran from post to post only to find them all deserted and seized with panic he fled along the line of retreat through the silent and empty Terhi Kothi, the Farhat Bakhsh and Chatter Manzil palaces. At length he caught up with the rearguard, but the horror of his experience had been so great that he was driven temporarily insane.

For his services at Lucknow, Wilson was prominently mentioned in despatches, and received the thanks of the Government for, 'courage, activity, and sound judgement in a very high degree'. He afterwards took part in 1859 in Colonel the Hon. Percy Herbert's pursuit of the Moghul prince, Firuz Shah, who had been out of the country at the time of the uprising in Delhi. Wilson was promoted Brevet Major on 24 March 1858, created a C.B. (London Gazette 21 March 1859), and awarded a year's extra service for the Defence of Lucknow. He received his regimental majority in February 1861 and was appointed Aide-de-Camp to Queen Victoria, which appointment he held from 20 January 1868 to 20 December 1880. He became Lieutenant-Colonel in May 1864, Brevet Colonel in June 1868, Major-General in December 1880, and Lieutenant-General on 1 April 1882. Wilson served as an ordinary member of the Council of the Governor General in India from May 1881 until December 1885, in recognition of which services he was made a Companion of the Order of the Indian Empire. He died at Barrackpur, near Calcutta, on 26 February 1886.

Wilson's personal account of the Siege, *The Defence of Lucknow. A diary recording the daily events during the siege of the European residency from 31st May to 25th September 1857*, 'by a Staff Officer', was published in 1858, by Smith, Elder & Co., of London. It is one of the most widely quoted works in all the main histories of the Indian Mutiny, and particularly in Kaye & Malleeson, who refer to this diary continually when recording events at Lucknow during the Siege. Indeed, as Malleeson maintained, it will remain impossible to 'speak of the gallant defence of the beleaguered Residency without associating it in the mind with the name of Thomas Fourness Wilson'.

Refs: Defence of Lucknow: A Diary recording the Daily Events During the Siege of the European Residency by a Staff Officer (Wilson); A Personal Narrative of the Siege of Lucknow (Rees); A History of the Indian Mutiny (Malleeson); History of the Sepoy War in India (Kaye); Hart's Army List 1885; Modern English Biography (Boase).



The Indian Mutiny medal to Lieutenant J. H. Worsley, 71st Native Infantry, who served with the Volunteer Cavalry at Chunhut and throughout the siege of Lucknow

INDIAN MUTINY 1857-59, 2 clasps, Defence of Lucknow, Lucknow (Lieut. J. H. Worsley) *nearly extremely fine*
£2000-2500

James Henry Worsley, the son of Francis Worsley of Birchfield, was baptised on 7 July 1834, at Arreton on the Isle of Wight. He was educated at Christ's Hospital, at Mr Duncan's in Southampton, and under one Charles Howard in St John's Wood. He was nominated for a Cadetship in the Bengal Infantry by William Butterworth Bayley, Esq., on the recommendation of William Henry Whitbread, Esq. He embarked for Bengal in the *Devonshire* on 7 July 1854 and landed at Calcutta on 12 November. Posted Ensign on his way out, he was appointed to do duty with the 11th Bengal N.I. in December prior to joining the 71st N.I. at Lucknow. The 71st mutinied on the evening of 30 May 1857, and in early June Worsley and about thirty others, including native officers, civilians, and at least one private soldier belonging to the 32nd Light Infantry, were formed into a body of Volunteer Cavalry on the orders of Sir Henry Lawrence.

Worsley took part in the action at Chinhut on 30 June, where the Volunteer Cavalry distinguished themselves by driving some 500 rebel horse from the Kokrail bridge thus securing the line of retreat, and also by carrying in many of the wounded on their horses. One of the original defenders in the epic of the Lucknow Residency, Worsley according to his statement of 'Services in the Field', commanded 'an out-post' for part of the time. He was mentioned in Inglis's despatch of 26 September 1857 and subsequently received the thanks of the Governor-General in General Orders on 8 December 1857. Following the Second Relief of Lucknow he took part in the victory over the Gwalior rebels at Cawnpore on 6 December, in the action at Khodagunge, and in the re-occupation of Fatehgar. In April 1858 he was appointed Baggage Master to Brigadier Walpole's force, and, in March, he served under Hope Grant (Ritchie 1-110) in the storm and capture of Lucknow, and in the affairs at Bareilly and Nugger.

In June he joined the Oudh Military Police and on 9 September became District Adjutant, prior to being appointed Divisional Adjutant on the 18th following. The next month, he commanded the 7th Police Infantry at the relief of Semdulah and in the action at Jhumoo under Brigadier Barker, and was subsequently mentioned in despatches (*London Gazette* 31 January 1859). Promoted District Commandant in January 1859, he continued to hunt down the last of the rebels in Oudh, taking part in operations under Brigadier Eveleigh, and being present at the action of Poorwah, the capture Sunree, the actions of Beerah and Dhoondeah Kharea, the capture of Oomerah and Trans-Gogra.

In January 1861, he was appointed to do duty with H.M.'s 20th Regiment and to officiate as Interpreter. In April 1862 he was made Assistant Superintendent, Bengal Police, and took part in quelling the disturbances in the Cossyah and Jynteah Hills. He was granted furlough on sick certificate for fifteen months, and embarked for England at Bombay aboard the *Nemesis* on 16 July 1864. He died en route for home and was buried in Steamer Point Burial Ground, Aden.

Refs: IOL L/MIL/10/77; IOL L/MIL/9/232; IOL L/MIL/10/59, 61, 63 & 65; IOL L/MIL/17/2/369; IOL N/3/38.



The Punjab and Indian Mutiny campaign pair to Major C. D. S. Clarke, 1st Oudh Irregular Infantry, an original defender at Lucknow

(a) PUNJAB 1848-49, no clasp (Ensign E. D. S. Clarke, 73rd Bengal N.I.) note incorrect first initial

(b) INDIAN MUTINY 1857-59, 1 clasp, Defence of Lucknow (Lieut. C. D. S. Clarke, 1st Oudh Irreg. Infy.) *light contact marks, otherwise very fine or better* (2) £2000-2500

Calvert Daw Stanley Clarke, the son of J. S. Clarke, Bengal Civil Service, was born at Calcutta on 22 January 1830 and was nominated for the Bengal Service by J. Smith, Esq., on the recommendation of his father. He landed at Calcutta from England on 6 January 1848, having been appointed Ensign on 2 September 1847. After duty with the 39th Bengal N.I. at Dinapore, he was posted to the 1st Bengal European Fusiliers at Cawnpore. After removal at his own request, he reported to the 73rd N.I. at Mhow and was promoted Lieutenant on 27 May 1853. In early 1854 he was appointed Adjutant to the 1st Oudh Irregular Infantry, and following a brief period as Aide-de-Camp to the G.O.C, Cawnpore Division, became second in command of the 1st Oudh Irregular Infantry in February 1856.

Lieutenant Clarke served throughout the Defence of the Lucknow Residency between 30 June and 23 November 1857, and was afterwards appointed Sub Assistant Commissary General in the Field in March 1858. After leave to Europe, Clarke returned to India in December 1860 and was made officiating Commandant of the 1st Military Police Battalion (Rattray's Sikhs). In May 1862 he was made Superintendent of Police at Bihar. Four years later he joined the 43rd N.I. as Wing Officer and the next year was admitted to the Bengal Staff Corps. He obtained his Majority on 2 September 1867.

Refs: IOL L/MIL/10/45, 59 & 81; IOL L/MIL/10/43; IOL L/MIL/10/65.



The Indian Mutiny medal to John Forrester, Uncovenanted Civil Service, who was wounded during the siege whilst acting as Deputy Head Clerk at the Lucknow Residency

INDIAN MUTINY 1857-59, 1 clasp, Defence of Lucknow (John Forrester) *very fine*

£1500-2000

John Forrester was a member of the Uncovenanted Civil Service, that is to say he was appointed in India and was not governed by a covenant with the Secretary of State, unlike the Haileybury educated 'Gentlemen of the Civil Service'. It was originally intended that Indians should fill uncovenanted posts, but in Victorian times many were held by Europeans and men of mixed blood. Forrester was Deputy Head Clerk at the Lucknow Residency under Sir William 'Thuggee' Sleeman and his successor Sir Henry Lawrence. It is recorded that he was wounded during the defence of the Residency.

Ref: IOL L/F/10/70; IOL L/MIL/17/2/306 p. 996.



The Indian Mutiny medal to Master Walter Smith, one of the 'Ragged Fusiliers' of La Martinière College during the siege of Lucknow

INDIAN MUTINY 1857-59, 1 clasp, Defence of Lucknow (W. Smith) *very fine*

£1500-2000

Confirmed on the roll as one of the fifty or so boy pupils at La Martinière College, Lucknow. The Roll of Honour to the staff and boys at La Martinière College records him as Walter Kenneth Smith.

La Martinière was once the residence of the French General Claude Martin and established as a college for European and Eurasian boys in his memory. During the siege the elder boys, though not officially combatant, were armed with muskets and helped their masters in the defence of their quarters. The younger boys helped with some of the domestic work when servants deserted, or carried messages and ammunition to the posts. Whilst they were known as the 'Ragged Fusiliers' by the soldiers of the 32nd, L. E. R. Rees, in his diary of the siege, makes known his disapproval of the tasks given to them:

'The poor Martinière pupils, who go about the garrison more filthy than others, and apparently more neglected and hungry even than we are, are made use of to drive away these insects (flies) from the sick in hospital, and others. That they, too, should contribute their share of usefulness is but just and fair; but that they should be placed in menial attendance upon the healthy great in the garrison is, in my opinion, far from right. But I shall say nothing more on this subject, lest I assume a tone of censure.'

Refs: Tourists' Guide to Lucknow (Hilton); Constantia, The Magazine of La Martinière College, Centenary Number 1945.



The Indian Mutiny medal to Sergeant William Hilton, Superintendent and Drill Instructor at La Martinière College, later described in the Bengal Directory as one of the 'Illustrious Citizens of Lucknow'

INDIAN MUTINY 1857-59, 1 clasp, Defence of Lucknow (Serjt. Hilton) *small edge bruise, otherwise extremely fine*
£2000-2500

William Hilton was born circa 1806 at Eltham, Kent, and enlisted in the Royal Artillery at nineteen years of age on 27 September 1825 for a period of unlimited service. He gave his occupation as 'Labourer / Hatter' and was described as five foot nine and three quarter inches tall, with dark brown hair and hazel eyes. He sailed for India aboard the ship *Thames* on 18 May 1826 and landed on 17 June following. Commencing service with the 1st Troop, 3rd Brigade, he was promoted Corporal in 1833 and Sergeant in 1840. He spent the next nine years serving in the Commissariat Department, returning to the Artillery on 9 May 1849, prior to being discharged and pensioned on 6 October of that year. His portrait photograph, taken in 1884, shows him wearing a second medal, probably for the Sutlej campaign.

Hilton next found employment as Superintendent at La Martinière College at Lucknow, where his wife became the school matron. In exchange for 50 rupees a month, Hilton, who still held the title of Sergeant, carried out the duties of porter *cum* drill instructor, and was able to enroll his own son, Edward, at the College. On 17 May 1857, as the storm of rebellion brewed in the city, the Principal of the Martinière, George Schilling (see Lot 65), obtained from Sir Henry Lawrence, a dozen muskets, bayonets and ammunition, with which the 100 or so souls living in the College might defend themselves, in the first instance from their own 'guard' of Oudh Military Policemen, whose loyalty was uncertain in the extreme. In his account *The Mutinies in Oude* Martin Gubbins (qv), the Financial Commissioner at Lucknow, states that ten Martinière boys 'big enough to handle muskets' were armed and daily drilled 'in the use of arms by one of the masters who had been in the army'. Numbered among these willing recruits, of whom three were big enough to rank as fighting men during the defence of the Residency entrenchment, was the seventeen year-old Edward Hilton. At first it was Schilling's intention to hold out in the school, but, on 17 June, Lawrence, realising that it would be impossible to support such an isolated position, ordered the College to be abandoned and summoned the staff and pupils to join him in the Residency entrenchment.

As soon as the siege began the scholars immediately distinguished themselves serving throughout the defence not only in a military capacity but in a variety of other ways. Edward Hilton, for instance, successively filled the posts of corn grinder, chief conservancy officer at the Martinière Post, and superintendent of the pupils attending the sick and wounded in the General Hospital, and it was while filling this latter post that his father fell grievously ill. This must have occurred early in the siege as Schilling later reported to the Trustees of the Martine Charities that 'Mr Hilton, the Sergeant Superintendent was unfortunately so ill during the whole siege as to be unable to render the assistance he otherwise would have done'. Edward was then recalled from the General Hospital by Mr Schilling to look after his father, but presumably he shared this work with his mother and his sister, and continued to fulfill his duties in the defence of the Martinière Post, which for the first month was conducted solely by the masters and armed boys. Later a party of three Privates and a Corporal of H.M.'s 32nd was detailed assist, and later still the party was increased to six Privates and a Sergeant. Sergeant Hilton, according to his son who later published an account of the siege, had several narrow escapes, one of which was from a bullet which passed through the back of his chair from which he had risen only a moment before. Likewise, Hilton's wife had an unfortunate experience when a wild 24-pounder shot fired from Phillip's Garden Battery smashed through the wall of her room. Although the shot missed Mrs Hilton it dislodged a brick which hit her on the head.

Hilton and his family were eventually evacuated from the Residency entrenchment on the night of 19 November by troops under Sir Colin Campbell. Edward, however, was ordered back to the Residency with the other boys who bore arms by Brigadier Inglis, and after spending a further night in the old garrison, was instructed to go with a school fellow, called Nichols, to the Dilkusha with two ponies and collect money and other valuable property belonging to the College. On their way back, they were caught in an artillery duel between one of Shannon's guns and a rebel battery positioned in a mango *tope*. The ponies ran off scattering rupees, and were only captured with the greatest of difficulty.



Sergeant Hilton recovered from his illness to continue as Sergeant Instructor at Martinière College, and was still serving there in 1868, at which period he was described in the Bengal Directory as one of the 'Illustrious Citizens of Lucknow' who attended the parade for the laying of the foundation stone of the Lucknow Memorial.

Edward Hilton subsequently became a Barrister-at-Law in Lucknow.

Refs: IOL L/MIL/10, 122, 176; IOL L/MIL/9/30; IOL L/MIL/10/301; Bengal Directories 1854-68; The Martinière Boys in the Bailey Guard. By One of Them (E. H. Hilton); The Tourost's Guide to Lucknow (E H. Hilton); The Mutinies in Oude (Gubbins).



The Indian Mutiny medal to George Schilling, Principal of La Martinière College throughout the siege of Lucknow

INDIAN MUTINY 1857-58, 1 clasp, Defence of Lucknow (G. Schilling) *edge nicks, otherwise good very fine*

£3000-4000

George Schilling, the Principal of La Martinière College, was born in Dublin 1827 and was educated at King's College, London. La Martinière, a large and impressive palace, lying a mile south east of Lucknow and about two and a half miles from the Residency, was built by Major-General Claude Martine (1735-1800), a French soldier and adventurer who allied himself to the British. Having amassed a fortune of 28 lakhs, Martine left instructions that on his death he was to be buried in one of the ground floor rooms, and endowed three schools; one in his former residence at Lucknow, one at Calcutta and one in his native Lyons.

In March 1857, Schilling, a married man with a daughter, was responsible for 268 pupils and the teaching staff and their dependents, about 100 in all. On hearing of the attacks on Europeans at Meerut and Delhi, Schilling arranged for stocks of food, 'rice, ghee dall etc., etc.', and reserves of drinking water in large earthenware pots, to be laid in. A small guard drawn from the 3rd Oudh Military Police was provided, and he also immediately took several other wise precautions, afterwards outlined in his report to the Trustees of the Martine Charities: '... the Establishment was moved into the main building of the Constantia House; the bigger boys armed, and sentries from among them stationed on top of the building during the day; the duty of keeping watch at night being assigned to the masters. At the same time the bridges connecting the main building with the wings of Martinière were destroyed; the numerous doors in front of the building barricaded, those behind built up with kucha walls, five feet high, and of course the same thickness; all the staircases built up; and also all the doors leading to the central staircase, excepting one filled up with bricks which had been purchased for the construction of a large well.'

On 11 June the cavalry of the Oudh Military Police mutinied and next day the infantry of the Military Police followed suit, but fortunately the guard at the Martinière absconded to join their comrades without first striking a blow at Schilling. The boys, who had been further reduced in number by some returning to their parents, were now sixty-one foundationers and four boarders, and they watched expectantly from the top of the Martinière as a body of mutineers, apparently intent on attacking the College that night, took up a position in a mango *tope* on the southern boundary of the park. But help from the Residency was at hand and some guns and a party of Lawrence's Volunteer Cavalry, under Captain Radcliffe (qv), galloped up and went into action. A few rounds of grape at close range scattered the mutineers who were then charged by the Volunteer Cavalry and driven into some trees. Two columns of the H.M.'s 32nd Regiment, under Colonel Inglis, appeared in skirmishing order and, advancing into the wooded area, accounted for a number of Sepoys. While all this was going on, Schilling, who was returning from the Residency, ran into some mutineers in the park, but, digging in his heels, was able to escape 'because of the swiftness of his horse'.

A guard of one Sergeant and eight men of the 32nd now replaced the Oudh Military Police at the Martinière, but over the course of the next few days Lawrence decided that it would be impractical to defend the College in the event of a general uprising and on 17 June he issued orders for the school to join the other Europeans inside the Residency perimeter. 'By order of Sir Henry Lawrence', reported Schilling, 'the school was removed into the Residency on the 18th of June; the order came at 4 o'clock the day before, when all preparations for the defence of the building were at once stopped, and the Principal went down to the city to ascertain where in the Residency, the school was to be placed, and what articles would be allowed to be taken in. Provisions, clothes, a bedstead and a chair to each individual, and a few tables, were all that the rules permitted. For the boys it was impossible to take as much as this, as the rooms assigned to them would not have held bedsteads and seats for all. Consequently only twelve bedsteads for hospital use, tables to dine half the boys, with forms in proportion, all the provisions that had been stored up in the main building, school-books sufficient to carry on the studies of the Christian pupils, with their summer clothing, were taken in, as much in fact as coolies could be obtained to carry.'

Once inside the Residency perimeter the school was allocated a house on the southern face of the entrenchment next to Sikh Square and in front of the Brigade Mess. The house belonged to a native banker, Shah Behari Lal, but from the moment Schilling was placed in command and took possession, it became the Martinière Post. At first Schilling ensured that school routine continued as far as possible, and Crank and his European subordinates continued to keep their pupils at their studies. The *maulvis* and *pandits* were given leave of absence on half pay for three months on 20 June and went away never to return, and the Indian doctor sloped off at the first opportunity. At first College servants collected supplies daily from the Martinière, but on 30 June, following the rout of Lawrence's troops at Chinhut, they deserted. Also on that day of blood, panic and confusion, a flock of sheep belonging to the College was regrettably locked out of the Residency entrenchment when the gates were hurriedly shut.



The Martinière Post was in a very exposed part of the garrison, being separated from the rebel held godowns of Johannes House by a road only twenty feet wide. The boys who bore arms would go on to the roof of their Post and fire through loopholes at whatever targets presented themselves. Besides rebels, these included Mr Johannes' *palka ghari* and the pumpkins in his garden which might provide the enemy with an additional source of food. Firing at these latter targets, however, was banned after a small boy called Hornby came onto the roof and addressed some question to two senior boys, namely Edward Hilton (the Sergeant instructor's son) and James Luffman. As the two elder boys turned to face the junior, a rebel fired and the bullet, glancing along the barrel of Luffman's musket, struck him in his left shoulder. Schilling reprimanded the boys and subsequently put that part of the house out of bounds. By preventing his charges from exposing themselves unnecessarily, the remarkable fact emerged that by the time the entrenchment was evacuated in November not one of the Martinière staff or boys had been killed by enemy action though there were many narrow escapes. Two boys, however, were wounded, Luffman as stated, and another named Smith. Two more succumbed to disease.

Besides the daily dangers of rebel fire from Johannes House, members of the Martinière Post were also subjected to two enemy attempts to drive mines under their position and blow it up. On 21 July, the day on which Schilling's friend Polehampton was killed, a mine starting from the area of Johannes House was discovered in the nick of time, and the rebels dislodged by the use of grenades. However, the rebels' second was a more successful attempt, as Schilling reported: '[it] carried entirely away the outer-room of the principal bungalow on the 10th August, while the boys were at prayers. The three doors in the partition wall, which fortunately remained standing, were blown open by the explosion. Before however the dust cleared away, those were barricaded with school tables, but not so as to prevent the first fatal casualty which occurred at the post, a soldier of the H.M.'s 32nd Regiment, who accompanied the Brigadier on a visit of inspection.'

It was a moment of supreme danger. Rebels poured forth from Johannes House and the surrounding godowns and while maintaining a furious fusillade made a concerted effort to get into the Martinière Post. Inglis, visibly upset at the death of the soldier exclaimed, "Another of my brave men is gone", and ordered those boys with muskets to fix bayonets. At length fire returned from the Martinière Post drove back the rebels, but a number of them succeeded in getting into the *tykhanna* (underground room). Captain McCabe of the 32nd came to the rescue, and, through holes bored in the floor, bombed them out with grenades. Three rebels were killed and the rest pushed out into Johannes's godowns.

The constant threat posed by Johannes House was finally answered by a fifty-foot British counter mine started from the Martinière Post a week later. It was dug in three days by men of Cornish tin mining stock belonging to the 32nd. On the 21st a sharp fire was opened on Johannes House, into which, as was hoped, large numbers of rebels flocked in order to reply. The mine was then blown and the house collapsed in a heap of rubble. A hundred rebels including the notorious rebel sniper 'Bob the Nailer' perished.

By careful rationing, Schilling was able to feed all his people for upwards of two months without assistance from the Commissariat, although after the loss of the sheep, he had been given another flock by the authorities on condition that the Martinière should feed them with the supply of grain brought in by the school. When all the sheep had been eaten, Schilling drew rations of beef from the Commissariat, but finding the official allowance for children under 12 was inadequate - only an eighth of that allowed for an adult - he was obliged to purchase on behalf of the College, ('at the best terms it could', he stressed to the Trustees) bullocks heads and necks from which was made a 'very substantial and palatable soup'. Water was 'furnished in abundance by a large well in the compound, and was of excellent quality, until a *bheestie* who had come to draw some, was struck by a cannon shot and fell into it. The school then had to resort to a large well just outside the compound near the adjoining Native Hospital.

The shortage of suitable clothing for the boys, or 'The Ragged Fusiliers' as the soldiers of the 32nd called them, was an equally pressing matter as the availability of food. But, as ever, Schilling overcame the difficulty: '... the hard work that the boys had to undergo, so soon wore out what they had on, that it was with the utmost difficulty they were kept clothed, though the supply of men's clothing purchased at the auctions of deceased officers' effects, and from the stores of the 32nd Regiment was very liberal, and a large quantity was made up during the siege. On the approach of the cold season, the difficulty increased, but the efforts made were successful so far as to provide every boy leaving the Residency with a pair of shoes, and complete suit of warm clothing.'

Even after the arrival of Sir Colin Campbell's Second Relief Force on 17 November, and the subsequent evacuation of non-combatants on the night of the 19th, the trials of the Schilling's Ragged Fusiliers were far from over. 'The endurance of the boys was put to a severer test during the march even than during the siege. Two hackeries and a few ponies purchased on the road, provided carriage for less than half the number, so that in the forced marches amidst the greatest confusion, the majority of them had to struggle on in the best way they could, to their journey's end, then snatch a few hours' sleep under trees, hackeries, or sheds, with insufficient covering against the cold (for many of them had been obliged, on the first march from the Residency, when they started without hackeries or camels, to abandon their blankets), and then hurriedly to start again. Happily the exertions made to provide them with food were successful, or otherwise they would never have braved as they did the extreme fatigue of the march.'

On 15 March 1858, Schilling, together with his family, staff and pupils arrived at Benares, where two bungalows were rented in the civil lines and a level of normality was resumed. The Founder's Day feast of 1857 was now celebrated, and looking back on the experiences of the past seven months, Schilling observed: 'Though the boys have lost in actual knowledge during the months that they have been without school work, they appear to have gained in intelligence by what they have gone through, and they are also more self-reliant, and show a more kindly feeling towards each other than before.'

Principal Schilling's leadership was well rewarded. He was duly voted a gratuity of three months pay, and later became a Talukdar, or noble of Oudh, with an estate worth 30,000 pounds, thereby ensuring a comfortable retirement in England. The Martinière contribution was officially recognised in Queen Victoria's 1858 proclamation. Although the boys were all awarded the Mutiny medal, it was not until 1932, following a request by the College, that the British Government recognised Martinière's role in 1857 by presenting it with Battle Honours - an honour held by no other educational institution in the British Empire. Schilling's remarkable achievement in bringing nearly all of those dependent on him through the siege was acknowledged by his *alma mater* in 1858, when King's, London, made him an Honorary Fellow. Continuing in India, he became a Governor of the Lawrence Military Asylum, before retiring to England. George Schilling died at 58 Crystal Palace Park Road, Sydenham, on 9 February 1886, and is buried in Elmers Green Cemetery.

Refs: Appendix B to the Report of the Proceedings of the Lucknow Martine Charities for 1856-57, and 1857-58; IOL L/MIL/5/86; Modern English Biography (Boase); The Times 18/2/96; A Memoir, Letters, and Diary of the Rev Henry S. Polehampton, M.A., (Polehampton & Polehampton); The Martinière Boys in the Bailey Guard. By One of Them (Hilton); The Mutinies in Oude (Gubbins).



The Indian Mutiny medal to Major Edward Woolhouse, 84th Regiment, who was severely wounded and lost his arm on entering Lucknow with the 1st Relief Force

INDIAN MUTINY 1857-59, 1 clasp, Defence of Lucknow (Lieut. Edwd. Woolhouse, 84th Regt.) *a little polished, therefore very fine*
£1400-1800

Ex Glendinings January 1908.

Edward Woolhouse was born at Cawnpore on 29 August 1832 and commissioned Ensign by purchase in H.M's 84th on 15 October 1852. He went with the Light Company on the mission to Ava in 1854, and was promoted Lieutenant on 24 April 1855.

Woolhouse served in the Mutiny with Sir Henry Havelock's Allahabad Moveable Column in the actions of Bosseerutgunge, 5 August 1857; Boorbeatkee Chowkee, 12 August; and Bithoor, 16 August. During the march to Lucknow, he participated in the actions of Mungawar, 21 September, and Alumbagh, 23 September, and was severely wounded on entering the city on 25 September, having his right arm amputated. For services at Lucknow he was granted a year's additional service.

On 7 September 1858 he was appointed Captain in H.M's 16th Regiment, and went on Half-Pay on 1 May 1861. He became Captain of Companies at the Royal Military College, Sandhurst, on 1 August 1862, and was promoted Major on 4 November 1864.

Ref: Roll of Officers (84th) York & Lancaster Regiment (Raikes & Key).



The Indian Mutiny medal to Sergeant Edward Berrills, Barrow's Volunteer Cavalry, a member of the 1st Relief Force at Lucknow

INDIAN MUTINY 1857-59, 2 clasps, Defence of Lucknow, Lucknow (Edwd. Berrills, Barrow's Voltr. Cavy.) good very fine £1200-1500

Edward Berrills, a civilian living at Allahabad, was barely nineteen years of age in early June 1857 when the 6th Native Infantry mutinied and, joined by hundreds of rebellious inhabitants of the town, broke open the gaol, plundered the shops, tore down the telegraph wires, destroyed the railway lines, and massacred every native Christian who had not taken refuge in the fort. The fort itself was defended by about a hundred European volunteers, such as Berrills, a few invalid artillerymen, and a detachment of Sikhs under Captain Brasyer. Having disarmed and ejected the company of the 6th N.I. doing duty in the fort, Brasyer's Sikhs discovered huge stores of liquor in the cellars and immediately drank as much as they could before selling the rest to 'the European volunteers who were soon so drunk that they could not stand up let alone fire their muskets.'

Fortunately, the fiery Colonel James Neill and a wing of his regiment, the hard-marching 1st Madras European Fusiliers, reached Allahabad from Calcutta on the 11th, and order was swiftly restored. A few days later Brigadier-General Henry Havelock arrived, and, on 7 July, he ambitiously started for Lucknow via Cawnpore in command of the Allahabad Moveable Column - a 'pitifully small force' comprising about a thousand British infantry from four regiments, less than 150 Sikhs, six guns, a detachment of irregular cavalry, and a band of no more than twenty volunteer cavalry under Captain Lousada Barrow, 'composed of officers whose regiments had mutinied, shopkeepers whose premises had been burned, and indigo-planters whose workmen had run away, "in short of all who were willing to join"'. It was as a member of this latter force, Barrow's Volunteer Cavalry, that Berrills, 'a very little fellow' in stature, set out to discover the fate of his two brothers, who, belonging to the Railway Service, had been caught up in the Defence of Cawnpore.

Five days after leaving Allahabad, Havelock, aware that the Cawnpore garrison had fallen but still concerned as to the fate of the survivors, received word from his spies that a body of rebels were at Fatehpur. By several exhausting marches he hurried on and defeated them before the town on the 12th in a fight that was to be the first of fifteen actions in which Berrills participated. Havelock's irregular cavalry (the 13th Bengal Irregulars and 3rd Oudh Irregular Cavalry) proved next to useless in the engagement, and a few days later they were 'quietly disarmed', and their horses appropriated 'for public purposes'. The Volunteer Cavalry meanwhile gave good service particularly in reconnaissance duties, and after a successful action at Aong and Panda Nandi on 15 July, it participated with distinction in the defeat of Nana Sahib at the first Battle of Cawnpore on the 16th, after which Havelock's troops came upon the Bibighar, the human slaughter house where the women and children of the Cawnpore garrison had been imprisoned and butchered.

Having discovered the fate of the womenfolk and having received confirmation of his brothers' deaths, Berrills is reported to have 'resolved to kill their murderers in revenge'. L. E. R. Rees, the Calcutta merchant turned volunteer at Lucknow, also recorded that Berrills quickly proved himself 'plucky like a veteran soldier', and, 'Everyone of his comrades bore witness to the gallant manner in which he would run on and attack the rebels.' The Volunteer Horse, having 'lost a third of its number' in one charge was expanded to eighty-five men in August, and following the Allahabad Moveable Column's junction with Outram's Oudh Field Force, fought its way into the besieged Lucknow garrison on 25 September. Accordingly Berrills served through the latter stage of the Defence of Lucknow until relieved in November by troops under Sir Colin Campbell. Thereafter he served with Barrow in operations in the Lucknow area.

Refs: The Great Mutiny (Hibbert); A Personal Narrative of the Siege of Lucknow (Rees); Cawnpore Massacre 1857 (Shepherd). History of the British Cavalry, Vol 2, 1851-1871 (Anglesey).



The Indian Mutiny medal to Lieutenant Percy Smyth, 97th Regiment, mortally wounded at Lucknow

INDIAN MUTINY 1857-59, 1 clasp, Lucknow (Lieut. P. C. Smyth, 97th Regt.) *nearly extremely fine* £2000-2500

Percy Charles Smyth was born in London on 17 January 1837 and entered the Army aged 18 years as an Ensign in H.M.'s 97th (Earl of Ulster's) Regiment on 9 March 1855. Promoted Lieutenant in September he joined his regiment in the Crimea in December and returned home with it in July 1856. In November 1857, the regiment arrived in India and joined the army in Oudh. Leaving their sick men, heavy baggage and quartermaster's stores at Benares, the remainder of the 97th marched out for Lucknow on 4th January 1858 with the Jaunpore Field Force. The force, commanded by Brigadier-General T. H. Franks, a fiery Irishman and a bold soldier, consisted of the 10th, 20th and 97th Regiments, some 3,000 loyal Gurkhas, about 60 mounted men and 18 guns.

The first clash with the mutineers was near a village called Nusrutpore on the morning of 23rd January, but the rebels offered little resistance and lost two of their guns. After further minor actions on 19th and 23rd February, with the loss of two killed and 13 wounded, the column marched on without trouble until it reached Dowrara, eight miles from Lucknow, on 4th March. A fort in the village was found to be occupied by some rebels and Franks sent his horsemen, some guns and three companies of the 97th to capture it. While the guns bombarded the fort, the company commanded by Major C. R. Chichester, with Lieutenants Gould and Morgan, passed round the village, stormed the outworks of the fort and brought out two guns. Some of the fugitives were cut down by our horsemen. In the attack Smyth, who was acting as orderly officer to the Commanding Officer of the 10th Foot, was mortally wounded. In his despatch Brigadier-General Franks mentioned Lieutenant Smyth as a brave and promising officer.

Ref: WO 25/544; The 97th or Earl of Ulster's Regiment 1824-1881 (Chaplin).



The M.V.O. group of three to Lieutenant-Colonel Henry Lascelles, The Rifle Brigade, formerly Aide-de-Camp to Sir William Peel as a fifteen year old Naval Cadet with Shannon's Naval Brigade

(a) THE ROYAL VICTORIAN ORDER, M.V.O. (4th Class), silver-gilt, gold and enamels, the reverse officially numbered 434, in its Collingwood & Co case of issue, this also numbered 4/434

(b) INDIAN MUTINY 1857-59, 1 clasp, Lucknow (H. A. Lascelles, Naval Cadet. Shannon) fitted with silver ribbon buckle, first initial corrected

(c) ASHANTEE 1873-74, 1 clasp, Coomassie (Capt. H. A. Lascelles, 2nd Bn. Rifle Bde. 1873-4) contact marks, otherwise about very fine, the first extremely fine (3) £4000-5000

Henry Arthur Lascelles, the fourth son of the Right Honourable W. S. S. Lascelles, P.C., M.P., and the eldest daughter of the 6th Earl of Carlisle, was born on 4 December 1842 and entered the Royal Navy in 1855. In March 1857 he was one of seven Naval Cadets who sailed in H.M.S. *Shannon* (510 officers, men and boys, under Captain William Peel, V.C., R.N.) for the China Station. On the *Shannon* being diverted to India and the formation of the famous Naval Brigade, Lascelles accompanied the first party of 408 officers and men under Peel's personal command up the Ganges on 18 August 1857, to Allahabad, where the entire Brigade concentrated by 20 October. On the 27th, Lascelles continued the journey up country to Cawnpore with a party of 170 men and two 8-inch howitzers under, *Shannon's* gunnery officer, Lieutenant Young, R.N. However, when the larger part of this detachment went on with the main body of the Naval Brigade to take part in the Second Relief of Lucknow, Cadets Lascelles and Watson, both barely fifteen years old, were left behind in an entrenched camp north east of Cawnpore with Lieutenant Hay's rifle company of some fifty Bluejackets and Marines, and two naval 24-pounders, in General Windham's force.

Towards the end of November 1857 a body of rebels, which was being continually reinforced, appeared to the south of the city. To prevent them concentrating, Windham applied to Sir Colin Campbell for permission to take offensive action. Having received no answer after a week he determined to attack the main body. On the 25th a successful advance was made and four guns were taken from the mutineers of the Gwalior Contingent. Three days later, however, Windham was surprised by the enemy who opened a rapid artillery fire on the British forward camp. The Naval guns were immediately sent up to the junction of the Delhi and Calpee roads and returned fire for half an hour before running out of ammunition, whereupon the enemy infantry came on in strength and the British infantry, consisting of two battalions of the Rifle Brigade and H.M.'s 88th Regiment, were ordered to fall back. As the Bluejackets and Marines were frantically trying to harness their guns to bullock teams, a shrapnel shell burst overhead causing the draught animals to stampede. In the words of Cadet Watson it then became 'a case of every man for himself', and the guns were temporarily abandoned.

The ensuing rescue bid to retrieve the guns was made by the Bluejackets, the 88th and the Rifle Brigade who used their rifle slings in place of the missing traces. Lascelles, having determined to distinguish himself, went forward with the rescue party, but being too small and lacking the strength to be of much use in dragging the guns away, seized instead the rifle of a wounded man of the 88th Regiment and joined them in a bayonet charge.

With the evacuation of Lucknow completed, Sir Colin Campbell returned to see off the rebel forces harassing Windham's entrenchment. Cadet Watson wrote, 'On the 29th Lascelles and I were looking over the parapet when we saw a round shot kick up the dust just outside, and over it came, just over us. Lascelles slipped and I bobbed to avoid it, and over we went both of us together! Such a jolly lark we had, and everyone laughing at us. On the 30th Sir Colin Campbell, from Lucknow, having heard the news of our being shut up, arrived with a large force to our rescue, with jolly old Captain Peel.'

Peel, the remarkable son of the great statesman, Sir Robert, now appointed Lascelles and Watson his Aides-de-Camp. Captain Oliver Jones, R.N., a Half-Pay officer who had come out to India 'for a lark' to see what fighting could be done, was evidently impressed with the youngsters' sang froid: 'Peel's A.D.C.'s' he wrote, were 'fine little Mids., about fifteen years old, who used to stick to him like his shadow under whatever fire he went, and seemed perfectly indifferent to the whizzing of bullets or the plunging of cannon-balls'.

Early on the morning of the Third Battle of Cawnpore, on 6 December, Peel called his A.D.C's and told them that there was to be 'a grand attack' and that they were 'not to run and blow and go head over heels and get out of breath'. At about nine o'clock they moved off on foot, jogging alongside Peel's horse, and after a preliminary bombardment of the rebel position, the enemy were driven back. The real work of the day then began with Lascelles and Watson joining the pursuit through and beyond the rebel camp for no less than ten miles. 'It was most awfully exciting', Watson told his Mama afterwards, though he was also forced to admit, 'the only way I could keep up ... was to say to my self "Hoicks over, Hoicks over, Fox Ahead!"'. That night Lascelles and Watson slept deeply if not comfortably under a captured gun.

Lascelles went on to take part in the capture of Futteghur, the action of Kallee Nuddee and the final capture of Lucknow where with Mate Edmund Verney, Lieutenant Vaughan and Midshipman Lord Walter Kerr, he went forward amidst the dead and the dying to have a look at the Kaiserbagh. Here, however, they met Sir Colin Campbell who interrupted their sight seeing by ordering them to man a captured gun and turn it on the enemy still holding out close by. For his services in the Mutiny Lascelles received a mention in despatches on 29 July 1858 from Vaughan, who had been instructed by the late and much lamented Sir William Peel, who had died from smallpox, to write a letter to their Lordships at the Admiralty giving an account of the movements of the Brigade and bringing to their Lordships attention those whom he had not had the opportunity of publicly mentioning in despatches. Thus, Vaughan concluded his list with the names of Mr H. A. Lascelles and Mr E. S. Watson, 'Aides-de-Camp to Sir William Peel, and always in attendance on him in action.'

In 1860, Lascelles left the Navy and was commissioned Ensign in the Rifle Brigade. Promoted Lieutenant in 1865 and Captain in 1872, he embarked with the 2nd Battalion in 1874 to take part in the second phase of the Ashanti War, during which he was present at the battle of Amoafu, advance guard skirmishes and ambush actions between Adwabin and the River Ordah, the battle of Ordahsu and the capture of Coomassie.

He retired as a Major in February 1882 and was given the Honorary rank of Lieutenant-Colonel. He married the following year, Caroline, the daughter of the Hon. C. Gore, and became Assistant Private Secretary to the Secretary of State for War. He eventually settled in West Sussex at Woolbeding House, near Midhurst, where he was instrumental in raising considerable funds for the building of the King Edward VII Sanatorium at Midhurst and was awarded the M.V.O. when the hospital was officially opened by the King in June 1906. A Justice of the Peace and County Councillor for West Sussex, Colonel Lascelles died in Midhurst on 29 July 1913.

Refs: Naval Brigades in the Indian Mutiny (Naval Records Society); The Devil's Wind (Verney); Army List; Kelly's Handbook 1901.



The C.B. group of four to Deputy Surgeon-General George Farrell, Indian Medical Service, Surgeon of Shannon's Naval Brigade and later of the 5th Gurkhas during the Second Afghan War

(a) THE MOST HONOURABLE ORDER OF THE BATH (Military) C.B., breast badge, 18 carat gold and enamels, hallmarked London 1880, lacking swivel-ring straight suspension and now fitted with fluted silver-gilt ring

(b) INDIAN MUTINY 1857-59, 1 clasp, Relief of Lucknow (Asst. Surgn. G. Farrell)

(c) INDIA GENERAL SERVICE 1854-94, 4 clasps, North West Frontier, Jowaki 1877-8, Burma 1885-7, Burma 1887-89 (Surgn. G. Farrell, 2nd Punjab Infy.)

(d) AFGHANISTAN 1878-80, 3 clasps, Peiwar Kotal, Charasia, Kabul (Surg-Maj. G. Farrell, 5th Goorkha) generally good very fine (4)

£4000-5000

George Elias Farrell was born in Dublin on 22 October 1831 and trained at Steven's Hospital, Dublin. He was appointed Assistant Surgeon in the Honourable East India Company's Service on 4 August 1854 and became a Fellow of the Royal College of Surgeons (Ireland) in 1856. He embarked for India aboard the S.S. *Nubia* and landed at Calcutta on 17 December 1856. After duty at the General Hospital, Calcutta, he was ordered to report to the Surgeon of the 20th N.I. at Benares in February 1857, but the following month was attached to the 2nd Company, 3rd Battalion, Bengal Artillery, and proceeded with a detachment of that unit to Dinapore on 12 April. He next returned to Benares and was attached to the Loodianah Sikhs and was placed in medical charge of all European troops at the station.

On 19 July, with Bengal in revolt, he was ordered to Calcutta and shortly after his arrival was assigned to accompany the second party of H.M.S. *Shannon's* Naval Brigade which, 120-strong, left Calcutta for Allahabad in the river steamer *Benares* on 18 September, under Lieutenant Vaughan. Vaughan's party caught up with the rest of the Naval Brigade on 20 October and marched into Allahabad fort with the ship's band playing at the head of the column. During the Second Relief of Lucknow he found a steady demand for his professional skills. Of the total of 553 officers and men landed from *Shannon*, four officers and one hundred men were killed or died from wounds or disease. One officer and seventeen men were invalided, and a further seven officers and fifty-one men wounded in action.

Following the Relief, Farrell was sent with the sick, wounded, and non-combatant members of the Residency garrison to Allahabad, where he was appointed to do duty at the General Hospital until February 1858, when he was ordered to Mean Meer in the Lahore Circle for general duty. He was next attached to the 2nd Punjab Infantry on the Frontier and in April 1860 took part in the expedition against the Mahsud Waziris under Brigadier Neville Chamberlain (qv). Service with Sam Browne's Cavalry, interrupted by a spell with the 2nd Punjab Infantry in 1865, followed until 1868, when on 4 August, he was promoted Surgeon. Farrell became Surgeon Major in 1873, and in 1877-78 took part in the punitive expedition against the Jowaki Afridis.

During the Second Afghan War he served with the 5th Gurkhas in the Kurram Valley Field Force, under Major-General F. S. Roberts, and was mentioned in despatches for services at Peiwar Kotal and thanked in orders. He continued with the force to Ali Khel and the Shutargardan Pass and returned with the force to Kurram, via the southern route and the Mangiar defile where the rearguard and baggage were suddenly attacked by the Mangal Pathans. The situation was saved by the 'steadiness and gallantry of the 5th Gurkhas' who for five hours repulsed every attack. Two officers were severely injured in the encounter, Captain Goad, a transport officer, and Captain Powell of the 5th Gurkhas, both of whom subsequently died of their wounds.

During the second campaign of the war, Farrell started again under Roberts, now commanding the Kabul Field Force. On 6 October 1879 Farrell was present with the forward elements of the Field Force which encountered the army of Kabul at Charasia, and put it to rout. Farrell entered Kabul with Roberts' force a few days later and subsequently served in operations around Kabul and in the defence of the Sherpur cantonment, earning another mention in despatches. Promoted Brigade-Surgeon in December 1883, he was advanced to Deputy Surgeon-General and created a Companion of the Bath in 1886. He last saw active service in 1886-87 during the Burma Campaign. Farrell retired from the Indian Medical Department in September 1893, and died in Dublin on 28 April 1899.

Refs: Hodson Index (NAM); IOL L/MIL/10/81; Roll of the Indian Medical Service (Crawford); The Naval Brigades in the Indian Mutiny 1857-58 (Naval Records Society); The Afghan Campaign of 1878-1880 (Shadbolt).



The unusual group of six to Surgeon Lieutenant-Colonel W. J. Shone, Senior Surgeon of *Pearl's* Naval Brigade during the Mutiny

- (a) THE ORDER OF ST JOHN OF JERUSALEM, Officer's breast badge, silver, the reverse inscribed 'Brigade Surgeon Lieut. Col. W. J. Shone 1896'
- (b) CRIMEA 1854-55, 1 clasp, Sebastopol (Assist. Surgeon Wm. Jas. Shone, H.M.S. *Furious*) contemporary engraved naming, clasp loose on ribbon
- (c) INDIAN MUTINY 1857-59, no clasp (Asst. Surgn. Wm. Jas. Shone. *Pearl*)
- (d) VOLUNTEER DECORATION, V.R., the reverse hallmarked London 1892 and inscribed 'Brigade Surgeon Lieut.-Col. W. J. Shone, Home Counties Vol. Brigade 1892'
- (e) ORDER OF THE MEDJIDIE, 5th class, silver, gold and enamels, the reverse centre attractively inscribed 'Wm. Jas. Shone, R.N., Rl. Marine Brigade Crimea 1854-55'
- (f) TURKISH CRIMEA, Sardinian issue, *contact marks to the earlier medals, otherwise very fine or better* (6)

£4000-5000

William James Shone served during the Crimean War as Assistant Surgeon aboard H.M.S. *Furious* (Captain William Loring, R.N.) and was employed on shore with the Royal Marine Brigade. In mid 1857 he was serving in H.M.S. *Pearl* (Captain E. F. Sotheby, R.N.) when she was diverted from duties on the Pacific Station for service in the Indian Mutiny. En route for India she called at Singapore to pick up two companies of H.M.'s 90th Regiment which had been wrecked in the iron troopship *Transit* in the Strait of Banca. *Pearl* disembarked the troops at Calcutta on 12 August, and Captain Sotheby offered his services to the Government. A Naval Brigade 250-strong was formed from the corvette's complement and a few volunteers from the merchant vessels at Calcutta. Leaving the ship with the first party on 12 September 1857, Shone proceeded to North West Bengal where *Pearl's* Brigade was attached to the Sarun Field Force, under Brigadier Francis Rowcroft, and went into action against the mutineers for the first time on 26 December at Sohunpore. The enemy, under Hurkishen Singh, were driven out of an entrenched position and dispersed. Captain Sotheby reported to the Secretary of the Admiralty: 'Drs. William J. Shone and Dickinson, Assistant Surgeons, were in close attendance, with Mr. Williams, the Chaplain, and Mr. Bowling [Ritchie 1-107], Clerk, but fortunately they were but little required'.

On 8 February 1858, the Brigade moved up the Gogra River in 150 boats to Chopalpur which was reached on the 10th. On the 17th Shone was 'on the field' at the capture of the strong fort of Chanderpur by 130 members of the Brigade together with 35 Sikhs and 60 Gurkhas. An enfilading fire was delivered by the river steamer *Jumna* and the enemy suffered some 300 casualties. The losses on the attacking side were again insignificant with only four men being wounded. On the 19th Nouranie was reached, and that night another fort was seized on the Oudh side of the river. The following day an attack was made on a strong body of rebels at Phoolpore. On this occasion, Rowcroft reported to his Major-General that 'Drs. Shone and Dickinson, Naval Brigade, were present and active on the field, and ready for any emergency.' As senior surgeon of the Brigade it fell to Shone to report two Gurkhas killed, one Royal Marine and one Able Seaman wounded, together with one officer and three men, belonging to the army of Gurkha prince Jung Bahadur, also wounded.

On 2 March the Brigade marched to Amorah, where Rowcroft was informed that the fort of Belwa, seven miles further on was occupied by mutineers. That afternoon Shone joined a force of some 160 men of the Brigade with four guns and some 24-pounder rockets, thirty-five Sikhs, and a regiment of Gurkhas, and advanced on the fort, near which they were met by the Bengal Yeomanry Cavalry (a unit consisting of European planters, merchants and others, who for the most part had lost everything in the troubles and who volunteered their services to the Government for the duration of Mutiny).

Yeomanry patrols had already been fired on and the force soon discovered that the enemy was in greater strength than had been anticipated. Accordingly the force fell back on Amarah. The retirement from Belwa was construed by the rebels as a sign of weakness, and greatly reinforced by men from Fyzabad, Nawabgunge, Gonda, and elsewhere, the Belwa garrison advanced on the small camp of Sarun Field Force which then numbered no more than 1500 including the sick.

14,000-strong and with 14 guns, the eager and confident enemy were seen advancing on the morning of 5 March. Shone left camp with 1260 men of the Field Force who took up a position about half a mile to the west of Amarah, with the *Pearl* Brigade's four guns sited astride the road. The guns were flanked on the left by a Gurkha regiment and a small detachment; another Gurkha regiment was on the right. On each outer flank was placed a squadron of the Bengal Yeomanry. The whole of Rowcroft's position, however, was outflanked by the rebels by about a mile on each side. The action commenced with an artillery duel, after which the enemy came on in excellent order behind a screen of skirmishers. Despite the daunting odds, Rowcroft replied by throwing out his skirmishers and a forward movement commenced, which never ceased until the rebels were driven from the field. A captured rebel gun was turned on the enemy and, in the absence of a port fire, was fired by discharging a rifle into the vent. Plied by their own grape, the enemy fell back in disorder. The Yeomanry sealed the victory with a brilliant charge against the enemy's left wing which fled leaving eight unspiked guns on the field. Heat and fatigue finally put an end to the action after four hours. In the Battle of Amarah casualties were higher than before with the Naval Brigade losing one officer killed and fifteen men wounded. Sotheby duly reported, 'the Rev. Mr. Williams with Mr Bowling, Acting Clerk, were most ready in assisting Drs. Shone and Dickinson, Assistant Surgeons, with the wounded'.

In order to show the enemy 'that the forces of the Government were confident of being able to take care of themselves' a line of rifle pits were dug around a new camp out in the open plain. Here the force remained until the end of April during which time it was reinforced by the left wing of H.M.'s 13th Light Infantry. On 17 April Shone was present with the force sent out to drive off a body of rebels from the nearby village of Thamowlee, and on the 25th was with the force that engaged the enemy in a series of actions at Puchawas. In June the Naval Brigade moved to Bustee and, sending out several expeditions, had frequent encounters with bodies of rebels.

In the middle of November the whole force left Bustee for the northern jungle on the Nepal Frontier as part of a concerted effort to encircle the last of the shattered rebel armies. While Rowcroft moved round from the east, Hope Grant (Ritchie 1-110) came up from the south, and Sir Colin Campbell in from the west. On 23 December, the remnants of the enemy, some 12,000-strong, were routed in a joint attack. This was the last affair in which the *Pearl* Brigade fought and was indeed the last general action of the Mutiny. Christmas 1858 was spent at Tolseepur and after a useless pursuit under Rowcroft to the Nepal frontier, the *Pearl* Brigade was ordered back to Calcutta. *Pearl* sailed on 13 February and after calling at Madras reached Spithead on 6 June 1859 - thereby arriving home after an absence of three years and one week. The officers and men of the *Pearl* came together for the last time on 16 June when the almost extinct custom of holding a 'paying-off' dinner was revived. Shone passed for Surgeon, but was unemployed after leaving the *Pearl*. His name last appeared in the *Navy List* in December 1859.

In December 1889, Shone was appointed Brigade Surgeon Lieutenant-Colonel in the 1st Buckinghamshire Volunteer Rifle Corps and was in medical charge of the Home Counties Volunteer Infantry Brigade. He was awarded the Volunteer Decoration in 1892 and the Order of St John in 1896.

Refs: Naval Brigades in the Mutiny [Naval Records Society]; The Royal Navy [Clowes]; Official Army List 1894.



The campaign group of three to Private Henry Novell, 14th Light Dragoons, recommended for the Victoria Cross in Central India when he charged alone into a village and killed one of the enemy under a heavy fire

(a) PUNJAB 1848-49, 2 clasps, Chilianwala, Goojerat (H. Novell, 14th King's Lt. Dgns.) contemporarily renamed in upright capitals

(b) INDIA GENERAL SERVICE 1854-94, 1 clasp, Persia (H. Novell, 14th King's Lt Dgns.)

(c) INDIAN MUTINY 1857-59, 1 clasp, Central India (H. Novell, 14th Lgt. Drgns.)

(d) FRAMED TESTIMONIAL, hand drawn and coloured, 540mm x 44mm including frame, describing the services of Henry Novell from his enlistment in March 1847 until his discharge to pension in February 1869, including his nomination for the Victoria Cross, embellished with illustrations of his three medals, regimental badges of the 14th L.D. and R.H.A., and a depiction of Jhansi from the Central India Field Force camp, signed with initials 'C.B.L.', very good condition, the medals with edge bruising and contact marks, the first good fine, otherwise nearly very fine (4)

£2000-2500

Henry Novell enlisted in H.M.'s 14th Light Dragoons on 15 March 1847 and embarked for India on 30 June of that year. He first served in the Second Sikh War, and was present at the affair at Ramnuggur and the battles of Chilianwala and Goojerat. Thereafter he was present at the surrender of the Sikh army and took part in the pursuit of the Afghans to the Khyber Pass. He next saw active service in the Persian expedition and sailed with reinforcements from Bombay to the Gulf, and although most of the regiment remained stationed on the island of Bushire, in the Persian Gulf, Novell proceeded with the 90 men of 'H' Troop, under Captain R. B. Prettejohn, to the Shatt-el-Arab and subsequently took part at the capture of Mohammerah on 26 March 1857. Whilst the entire regiment gained the medal for the Persian expedition, it was only these few men of 'H' Troop that saw anything that could be described as action during the campaign.

Early 1858 found Novell and his regiment preparing to take the field with Sir Hugh Rose's Central India Field Force. The illuminated testimonial accompanying Novell's medals states his presence at, 'the Capture of Rathghur 28th Jan. Action at Barodia 31st Jany. Capture of Garrakota 12th Feby. Forcing of the Muddenpore Pass 3rd March. Battle of Batwa 1st April. Siege and Capture of Town and Fortress of Jhansi 3rd to 5th April. Action at Koonch 7th May. Battle of Gollowlee 22nd May. Capture of Morar Cantonments 16th June', all of which brought him to the town and fortress of Gwalior which was retaken from the rebels on 19 and 20 June. Next day the fleeing rebel army numbering 10,000 men attempted a stand at Jowra-Alipur but were thoroughly routed by the pursuing cavalry. Here Novell, still serving with Prettejohn's troop, especially distinguished himself as Brigadier-General Robert Napier reported in his despatch dated, 'Camp Jowra Alipore, 21st June 1858':

'Private Novell of H.M.'s 14th Light Dragoons, charged alone into the village and killed one of the enemy under a heavy fire, for which act of gallantry I beg to recommend him for the Victoria Cross.'

Sadly for Novell the award was not forthcoming but Sugeon J. H. Sylvester assumed that Novell had been awarded the Cross when he penned his recollections: 'A bivouack was ordered at the village of Samowli until daybreak when the column again advanced, and overtook the enemy at Jowra-Alipore. Here, near the village, they had succeeded in bringing a large park of artillery: on either side were stationed masses of infantry, and cavalry hovered on their flanks. General Napier disposed his force in two lines: in front, General Lightfoot's guns, supported by sixty Dragoons and two hundred and fifty Contingent sabres; in reserve, fifty Bombay Cavalry under Lieutenant Dick, and a squadron of Meade's Horse. The enemy, as usual, fired first. Our Horse Artillery galloped to a small eminence, opened on the enemy's right flank, when he turned and fled precipitately. The gunners and 3rd Contingent Cavalry dashed into the enemy's park and took it almost without resistance. The fugitives sought cover of villages for shelter, while the cavalry accounted for as many as possible. Two or three hundred were said to have fallen, but without infantry it was impossible to clear the villages. Private Nowell [sic] of the Dragoons won the Victoria Cross.'



In December 1858, he served with Prettejohn's detached squadron in the column under Napier which roundly defeated Feroz Shah and his army at Ranode on the 17th. Immediately after the battle, Napier wrote to Lieutenant-Colonel Arthur Scudamore (see Lot 73), then commanding the 14th: 'This morning the enemy were beaten and pursued with slaughter for eight miles, your glorious Fourteenth going a mere handful into the mass without looking twice ...'

On 1 January 1860, Novell transferred to the Bombay Horse Artillery which the following year was swallowed up by the Royal Horse Artillery in which he elected to remain until 2 February 1869, when he was discharged on pension.

Refs: Private Novell's Testimonial; Historical Record of the 14th (King's) Hussars (Hamilton); Cavalry Surgeon (Sylvester).



The Indian Mutiny C.B. group of four to Major-General Arthur Scudamore, 14th Light Dragoons, who was dangerously wounded at Goojerat and commanded a wing of the 14th Light Dragoons in the campaign in Central India

(a) THE MOST HONOURABLE ORDER OF THE BATH (Military) C.B., breast badge, 22 carat gold and enamels, hallmarked London 1859, maker's mark WN, complete with swivel-ring suspension and gold ribbon buckle

(b) GHUZNEE 1839, unnamed as issued, fitted with contemporary scroll suspension

(c) PUNJAB 1848-49, 2 clasps, Chilianwala, Goojerat (Capt. A. Scudamore, 14th Lt. Dragns.)

(d) INDIAN MUTINY 1857-59, 1 clasp, Central India (Major A. Scudamore, 14th Lgt. Drgns.) the medals on a contemporary mounting as worn, the ribbons rather frayed, *the first two campaign medals with pitting and contact marks, good fine or better, otherwise good very fine (4)* £4000-5000

The medals are accompanied by an 1821 Pattern Light Cavalry Sword, steel three-bar hilt, the 35-inch pipe-back blade stamped *Eeves & Co*, with steel scabbard, and an interesting archive of original documents, including 10 Commissions reflecting all of Scudamore's steps in rank from Cornet to Major-General, Warrant of Appointment as a Companion of the Bath, a hand-drawn campaign map, and a good quantity of original field instructions, orders and intelligence reports from the campaign in Central India.

Arthur Scudamore was born on 26 March 1816 at Maidstone, Kent, and was commissioned Cornet in the 4th Light Dragoons on 29 May 1835. He arrived in India in November 1836, and was promoted Lieutenant without purchase on 18 February 1838. He took part with his regiment in the invasion of Afghanistan under Sir John Keane and was present at the Siege and Capture of Ghuznee in 1839. He came home in February 1843, and returned to India in April 1844, having transferred to H.M.'s 14th Light Dragoons. He became Captain by purchase in October 1847, and the following year was stationed at Ferozepore, when the militant strength of the Sikhs again threatened the Pax Britannica, causing Lord Dalhousie to declare, "Unwarned by precedents, uninfluenced by example the Sikh Nation has called for War and on my word, sirs, they will have it with a vengeance."

By mid October 1848, the Sikh leader, Shere Singh, had effected a junction with other rebels from Bannu and elsewhere, and had concentrated his forces at Ramnagar on the south side of the River Chenab, fifty-five miles northwest of Lahore. In response, the Army of the Punjab under Hugh Gough, was in full march from Ferozepore, and at its advance Shere Singh started to pull his forces back to the north side of the Chenab. On 21 November, Gough sent one of his two cavalry brigades, comprising the 3rd and 14th Light Dragoons and the 5th and 8th Bengal Light Cavalry, forward to make a reconnaissance in force and discover if there was a chance of cutting off any substantial body of the enemy left on the south bank. The Chenab at Ramnagar was very wide but mainly dry with a sandy and treacherous bottom, the actual channel being quite narrow. At one point in the river bed there was a patch of greenery which formed a sort of island held by approximately 3,000 Sikhs and a six gun battery. Both banks were high and the ground leading to the south bank was intersected by a number of dry nullahs occupied by Sikh sharpshooters. The Sikhs had massed their artillery on the north bank with only the muzzles showing.

Contact with the enemy was made early on the morning of the 22nd. The 3rd Light Dragoons were ordered to charge a body of Sikh horse which had crossed the river, and succeeded in driving them back. The charge brought the leading British troops within range of the Sikh guns, causing the 3rd L.D. to retire, but during this manoeuvre one gun and two limbers belonging to the supporting Horse Artillery became stuck in the river bed and had to be abandoned in the face of a heavy fire.

Jubilant, the Sikhs began swarming across the river to take possession of these trophies. Gough, who had come up with the intention of returning to his camp for breakfast, was alarmed to find the reconnaissance turning into a cavalry action. After hearing of the loss of the gun he rode forward to locate Brigadier Cureton, the colourful commander of the reconnaissance. Gough found Cureton at the front of the 14th Light Dragoons and having just given Scudamore's Commanding Officer, Colonel Will Havelock, orders to charge a large body of Ghorchurras (elite Sikh irregular cavalry) which had crossed the river on the British right. This the 14th successfully did, but unfortunately Havelock, an impetuous officer who found total release in battle, then saw another body of Sikhs and decided to charge them also. Seeing Havelock forming his men for a second charge, Cureton, realising the suicidal nature of the attack, galloped forward to stop them. He was however shot and killed by a Sikh concealed in a nullah before he could reach Havelock.

Gough looked on in fascinated horror, and sent another officer, Major Tucker, to arrest the progress of the 14th Light Dragoons. But Havelock was too far ahead. The regiment plunged over the steep river bank and into the teeth of the enemy's artillery fire from the green island and the north bank. The Sikhs stood firm on the island and a bloody hand to hand contest ensued. Havelock's grey went down; a knot of nine troopers instantly closed around him; his body and theirs, were found together after the battle. In carrying out their self imposed task the 14th lost two officers, one sergeant and thirteen other ranks, and thirty-seven horses killed; five officers, including Scudamore, who was 'sabred in the face'; four sergeants and eighteen other ranks and fifteen horses wounded.

Early in the New Year, Gough instituted a turning movement against the Sikh line on the Chenab forcing them back to Chilianwalla where a pitched battle was fought on 13 January 1849. On this occasion Scudamore's regiment had the misfortune to form part of the brigade commanded by one of the East India Company's oldest Generals, Brigadier Pope, who was unable to mount his horse without assistance and whose grasp of cavalry tactics was similarly infirm. Posted on the right of Gough's line, Pope ordered his brigade to advance in a single line without sending scouts ahead nor holding any squadrons in reserve. As the brigade moved forward it began to drift to the left, thereby masking the supporting fire of the horse artillery. The 14th Light Dragoons who were on the left of the brigade, reported the situation to the Brigadier, in order that he might rectify it by commencing a movement to the ground on the right with the command of "Threes Right!"

Then three things happened very quickly, Pope was wounded; some officers of the Bengal Light Cavalry who had charged ahead and encountered a body of Sikh horse, came galloping back; and someone shouted the fatal command "Threes About!" To the amazement of the 14th Light Dragoons and the 9th Lancers, under Major Hope Grant (Ritchie 1-110), on the outer wings, the 1st and 6th Bengal Light Cavalry in the centre immediately wheeled to the rear. Although somewhat baffled, the 9th and 14th conformed, and the Sikh cavalry, seeing a chance, charged. Whereupon the 1st and 6th Bengal Light Cavalry panicked and, digging in their spurs, fled from the field, allowing the Sikhs to over-run a number of guns. Meanwhile, the 9th Lancers and the 14th Light Dragoons made a desperate bid to put sufficient distance between themselves and the enemy so that they could turn and face their pursuers. Once this difficult manoeuvre had been accomplished the Sikhs were easily driven off with some loss. The 14th Light Dragoons, however, became extremely bitter about the affair, and for many years afterwards the merest mention of the words "Threes About!" to a Trooper of the regiment would invariably result in a punch-up. The commanding officer of the 14th shot himself some months later, upset by slurs on his personal courage.

Scudamore was next present in action on 21 February 1849 at Goojerat, when Lord Gough intercepted Sher Singh, who, having received substantial reinforcements, including a large Afghan contingent, was attempting to cross the Chenab and march on Lahore. During this action, in which Scudamore was dangerously wounded, the 14th Light Dragoons served with the 2nd Cavalry Brigade on the right flank, spending the day balking moves by large bodies of Afghan horsemen, and later taking part in the pursuit of enemy which continued until dusk. After the battle of Goojerat, the Sikhs were all but beaten, and it only remained to chase the Afghans up to the Khyber Pass. The Punjab was finally annexed on 1 April 1849, and a great victory secured by Lord Gough.

Scudamore remained with his regiment in India until 4 December 1854, when he returned home, having been promoted Major without purchase on 1 June of that year. He returned to India on 21 August 1857, and was appointed to the command of the right wing of his regiment, which, as part of Sir Hugh Rose's Central India Field Force, marched out from Sehore on 6 January 1858 with the 2nd Brigade under the command Brigadier Charles Steuart (see Lot 44). The first task of the 2nd Brigade, which Sir Hugh accompanied, was the reduction of the fortress of Rathgurun. After a three day siege, a breach was made practicable, but the rebel Rajah of Banpur closed on the brigade's rear. His followers, however, were quickly beaten off by the 3rd Bombay Light Cavalry and the 14th Light Dragoons. The rebels, witnessing the failure of the Rajah, abandoned the fort during the night and joined his men in a position behind the River Bina near Barodia, from which they were smartly ejected on the 31st. On 3 February, the garrison at Saugor was relieved after a seven month siege.

Leaving Saugor after a few days rest, Scudamore was next present at the capture of the fort at Garakhota which was abandoned by its garrison after a token defence on 12 February. The enemy was then pursued by a specially formed flying column which rejoined the main force, having killed a hundred rebels. Rose now concentrated his energies in the direction of Jhansi, but to get there he had to cross a range of hills through which there were only two passes, the Malthone and the Muddenpore. He ordered Scudamore, with one squadron, one battery and some native infantry to make a feint against the Malthone held by the Rajah of Banpur, while the main force fought its way through the Muddenpore held by the Rajah of Shagahr. Sir Hugh Rose's tactics were successful, and Scudamore duly received his thanks. In his *History of the Indian Mutiny*, Mallett wrote 'The effect of this victory was very great. It so daunted the rebels that they evacuated without a blow the formidable pass of Malthone, the fort of Narhat to the rear of it, the little fort of Sarahi, the strong fort of Maraura, the fortified castle of Banpur (the residence of the Rajah called after it), and the almost impregnable fortress of Tal-Bahat on the heights above the lake of that name. They abandoned also the line of the Bina and the Betwa, with the exception of the fortress of Chanderi, on the left bank of the latter river.'

The latter stronghold was captured by troops of the 1st Brigade, Central India Field Force, advancing from Mhow on 17 March. Both brigades then arrived before Jhansi and commenced the investment of that formidable stronghold on the 22nd. No sooner than the investment had begun Sir Hugh Rose learnt that the Rani of Jhansi had asked Nana Sahib for help and that he had despatched his principal commander, Tantia Topi, with 22,000 men and twenty-eight guns, to break the siege. To meet this threat Rose divided his force and sent 1500 men, including Scudamore and two squadrons of the 14th, to arrest the progress of the enemy on the Betwa. The repulse of the enemy, who cleverly covered their retreat by setting fire to the jungle, totally demoralised the Jhansi garrison and the fortress and fortified city was stormed on 3 April. Around the city, Scudamore and Major Gall, with their respective wings of the 14th were ordered to establish cavalry flying camps to prevent anyone escaping. The ferocious Rani, however, managed to make good her escape. For his services at Jhansi, Scudamore was mentioned in Sir Hugh Rose's despatch dated 'Camp Mote, April 30, 1858'.

On 7 May, Scudamore took part in the Battle of Kunch where the 1st and 2nd Brigades delivered a converging attack on the enemy sending them streaming back in disorder along the Calpee road. The exertions of the action, fought in a temperature of 100 degrees, were too much for Scudamore and many others, and he was prostrated by heatstroke. Major Gall assumed temporary command and the march was resumed to Calpee where Tantia Topi had his principal arsenal. The layout of Calpee presented the enemy with an ideal opportunity for a defence in depth, which was sure to cost Rose heavy casualties. However, the rebels, led by Tantia Topi, the Rani of Jhansi, the Nawab of Banda, and Nana Sahib's nephew, Rao Sahib, entirely wasted the opportunity by coming out to attack the Field Force on 22 May. They were held with some difficulty, then decisively repulsed and pursued towards Gwalior.

Scudamore resumed command shortly before the rebel forces were engaged in the ravines that intersected the ground before the Morar cantonments on 16 June. On this occasion, the 14th, supported the right wing of H.M.'s 71st Regiment. Brigadier Napier, commanding the 2nd Brigade, wrote in his despatch: 'I beg particularly to recommend to the Major-General's notice ... Major Scudamore, commanding the right wing of the her Majesty's 14th Light Dragoons, which was skilfully handled and ready for every call for its services. His skirmishers attacked and destroyed many of the enemy in the ravines.' Cwalior was attacked and captured on 20 June, and the following day all that was left of the rebel army in Central India, 10,000 men attempted a stand at Jowra-Alipur, in which they lost all their remaining guns, elephants and equipment. Tantia Topi, cunning as usual, managed to make good his escape.

On 20 July, Scudamore was appointed Brevet Lieutenant-Colonel, and with the work of the Central India Field Force complete, he was despatched in command of a flying column for the next six months scouring the country for rebel bands. At the close of the year, the rebellion briefly flared when Firuz Shah, the Moghul prince whom Colin Campbell had driven out of Rohilkhand, returned to the fray. His army, however, was roundly beaten at Ranode on 17 December. Immediately after the battle, Napier wrote to Scudamore: 'This morning the enemy were beaten and pursued with slaughter for eight miles, your glorious fourteenth going a mere handful into the mass without looking twice...'

In April 1859, Major Richard Meade (Ritchie 1-109) persuaded Man Singh, the Rajah of Narwar, to betray Tantia Topi. Scudamore was appointed President of the Court-Martial which tried and sentenced him to death at Sipri. The public hanging took place at 4 p.m. on the 18th of that month and after the guard marched off, 'a great scramble was made by officers and others to get a lock of hair.' In 1860, with a C.B. and three mentions in despatches to his credit, Scudamore sailed for home with his regiment which had been in India for nineteen years. On 19 June 1861, he was appointed to the command of the regiment, and it was during his time as Commanding Officer that the regiment was converted to Hussars at Newbridge on 21 August 1861. On the 8th of October he exchanged to the command of the 7th Hussars with Lieutenant-Colonel Sir William Russell. In 1873, he was appointed to the command of the 34th Brigade Depot at Exeter, and commanded a cavalry brigade in the Dartmoor Manoeuvres held in the autumn of the same year. He retired with the rank of Major-General and died at Darmstadt on 11 January 1880.

Refs: Historical Record of the 14th (King's) Hussars (Hamilton); WO 76/28.



The Crimea and Indian Mutiny group of three to Captain Neville Glastonbury, Royal Engineers, killed in action at Barodia in January 1858

- (a) CRIMEA 1854-55, 2 clasps, Alma, Sebastopol (Glastonbury Neville, Royal Engineers) contemporary engraved naming
- (b) INDIAN MUTINY 1857-59, 1 clasp, Central India (Capt. G. Neville, Royal Engrs.)
- (c) LEGION OF HONOUR, Knight's badge, silver, gold and enamels, *the white enamel heavily lacquered and yellowed, otherwise good very fine or better* (3) £2500-3000



Glastonbury Neville was commissioned 2nd Lieutenant in the Royal Engineers on 18 December 1847 and promoted Lieutenant in August 1852. On 18 September 1854 he was one of the original Engineer Force of twenty-three officers and 323 men that landed with the British Army in Kalamita Bay, and was present two days later at the battle of the Alma. Neville duly experienced the horrors of the Crimean winter, spending many days and nights in the trenches. On 16 June 1855 he was attached to No. 4 Column, which in conjunction with the planned assaults on the Redan by Nos. 1, 2, and 3 Columns, moved towards the Woronzoff Ravine and attempted to enter the enemy's works. The assaults failed in every direction due to insufficient artillery preparation and the French who gave away the allied intention by advancing before the signal was given. He served with the French and Sardinians at the repulse of the Russians with heavy loss on the Tchernaya in August 1855 and was awarded the French Legion d'Honneur.

Neville was mentioned in the R.E. 'Subalterns Despatch' on 21 December 1855 by the Chief Engineer Sir Harry Jones: 'This long siege of 337 days having been brought to a successful termination, I am desirous to bring under your Excellency's notice the services of a most gallant and zealous body of officers. I allude to the Subalterns of the Royal Engineers ... called upon to do duty in the trenches several more than once wounded and others contused. The following figures refer to some of the survivors day's or nights - 33, 108, 32, 46, 97, 62, 65, 78. It must be borne in mind that those tours of duty always brought the individual under fire, and in the winter months they were exposed to all the severities of the season. Several of the subalterns distinguished themselves on several occasions upon the attacks on rifle pits, quarries, &c. Such services, I trust, will not be allowed to pass without reward. The following are the names of the officers who particularly distinguished themselves: - ... G. Neville ...'

Promoted Captain on 19 March 1857, Neville's reputation was such that, on landing in India, Sir Hugh Rose, who had served as the British liaison officer at French Headquarters in the Crimea, summoned him to join the Central India Field Force before the rebels' defensive position at Barodia. He arrived on 30 January 1858 and 'earnestly pleaded' with the General to be appointed acting Aide-de-Camp, but nevertheless wrote that night to his mother expressing the certainty he felt of death in the coming action. Next day when the enemy answered the British assault with guns and rockets, Neville was struck in the head by a round shot. With a heavy heart, Sir Hugh wrote: 'Knowing what good service he had done as an Engineer officer before Sebastopol, I had him brought up by forced marches to assist in the reduction of the forts in this country; during the action he was most useful to me, exhibiting to the last the courage and intelligence which had obtained for him so honourable a reputation.'

'The loss of this officer', wrote Dr Thomas Lowe, 'was much lamented by the General. He had been all through the Crimean War - had passed days and nights in the trenches before Sebastopol, and had escaped with much honour, and in so short a time to have met his death in such a manner, after such a career, was indeed lamentable. He was buried the day after in a little mound near the camp, all the officers of the Force having followed him to his grave.'

Refs: History of the Corps of Royal Engineers (Porter); History of the Indian Mutiny (Forrest); Central India during the Rebellion of 1857 and 1858 (Lowe); Army List.



The Indian Mutiny medal to Captain John Cockerel, Hodson's Horse

INDIAN MUTINY 1857-59, no clasp (Lieut. I. Cockerell, 1st Regt. Hodson's Horse) *nearly very fine* £500-600

John Cockerell, the son of John Cockerell, D.L., J.P., of Malmesbury, Wiltshire, and Putney, and his wife Joanna Mary, eldest daughter of Brigadier-General Catlin Craufurd, 91st Highlanders, was born on 12 June 1831. His grandfather, Samuel Pepys Cockerell was Surveyor to the H.E.I.Co.'s Home Service, and designed Sezincote House, a unique example of the architecture of Akbar, and the only Moghul building that has survived in Western Europe, as a private commission for his brother, Sir Charles Cockerell, 1st Bart., who amassed a considerable fortune in India and later entered Parliament. Considering that the majority of John Cockerell's kinsmen attended the Civil College at Haileybury, it may be assumed that he was either 'too idle or too stupid' for the Civil Service and was nominated like other rejects to the cavalry, for which nothing so vulgar as training was required. Appointed Cornet on 20 September 1848, he embarked for India in the *Indus* that same day, and arrived at Fort William on 10 November following. Posted to the 4th Bengal Light Cavalry at Cawnpore on 16 December 1848, he was promoted Lieutenant on 1 August 1849.

At the outbreak of the Mutiny Cockerell must have learnt with horror and rage the news of the murder of his cousin, Henry Edmund Cockerell, of the Bengal Civil Service. One night in mid June 1857, Henry, who had chosen to remain at his isolated post in the Banda district longer than was wise, decided there was nothing more he could do to enforce the Company's authority over the surrounding country. He ordered his syce to saddle his horse, and set out to seek the protection of the Nawab of Banda. But on reaching the Nawab's palace, he was treacherously pulled from his horse and hacked to pieces by the Nawab's retainers.

On 15 December 1857, John Cockerell, whose regiment was showing signs of disaffection and was ultimately disbanded, was attached to Hodson's Horse. His 'Record of Services' states: 'Served with Hodson's Horse in the Indian Mutiny of 1857. Present at the action of Khoolagunge and re-capture of Futteghur'. His career with Hodson's Horse, however, was short lived, for on 23 January 1858 he was placed at the disposal of the Government of the Central Provinces for employment with the Police Cavalry and, having been granted the local rank of Captain, was appointed Commandant of the Divisional Battalion at Benares in April 1858. On 12 January 1860 he became Captain in the 2nd Bengal European Light Cavalry (afterwards the 20th Hussars), and on 19 April 1864 exchanged into H.M.'s 8th Foot, from which he promptly sold out. Cockerell married Henrietta, daughter of Henry Torrens B.C.S., and died at Brighton on 27 May 1877, outliving his younger brother Rowland Vyner Cockerell, B.C.S., who died by falling into a crevasse near Simla in 1873.

Refs: Hodson Index (NAM); IOL L/MIL/10/67; IOL L/MIL/10/45; IOL L/MIL/10/65; IOL L/MIL/10/98; WO 76/550; WO 76/130 f. 76.



The Indian Mutiny medal to Captain F. W. Dobree, Golconda Local Corps

INDIAN MUTINY 1857-59, no clasp (Capt. F. W. Dobree, Golconda Local Corps) *good very fine*

£400-500

Frederick William Dobree, the son of Daniel Dobree, was born at St Peter Port, Guernsey, on 1 September 1831, and was educated at St Elizabeth College, Guernsey, and Addiscombe. He was commissioned Ensign in the Madras Army on 13 June 1831 and was directed to do duty with the 9th Madras N.I. and, in March 1852, with the 50th Madras N.I. A month later he was posted to the 43rd Madras N.I.

During the Mutiny of the Bengal Army in 1857, Lieutenant Dobree was on secondment as Adjutant to the Golcondah Sebundies, a local corps of militia, or imperfectly disciplined troops, for revenue or police duties, and received the thanks of the Governor for his help in quelling the disturbances in the hill tracts of the Golcondah Zamindary. He subsequently served with the Sappers and Miners and was D.A.A.G., Northern District. He transferred to the Staff Corps, and was promoted Captain in 1866. Frederick Dobree died at Waltair, near Vizigapatam, on 11 September 1869.

Refs: Hodson Index (NAM); IOL L/MIL/11/73 & 78; IOL L/MIL/11/57.



The Indian Mutiny medal to Corporal Francis Thomas, 23rd Royal Welch Fusiliers

INDIAN MUTINY 1857-59, 2 clasps, Relief of Lucknow, Lucknow (Corpl. Frans. Thomas, 1st Bn. 23rd R.W. Fusrs.)
good very fine £200-250

The roll confirms medal and both clasps and notes 'discharged' by his name.



The Indian Mutiny medal to Private Patrick Mullane, 53rd Regiment

INDIAN MUTINY 1857-59, 2 clasps, Relief of Lucknow, Lucknow (Patk. Mullane, 53rd Regt.) *very fine* £200-250

Patrick Mullane was born in the Parish of Castlemayor, near Canturk, County Cork, and attested for the 22nd Regiment at Canturk on 4 January 1848, aged 20 years. He transferred to the 53rd Regiment on 1 November 1854, re-engaged to complete 21 years in November 1859, and transferred to the 35th Regiment on 1 March 1860. He was discharged, having been found unfit for further service, at Portsmouth on 9 June 1868.

Ref: WO 97/1504.



A rare 4-clasp Indian Mutiny medal to Gunner William Boyle, Bengal Artillery

INDIAN MUTINY 1857-59, 4 clasps, Delhi, Relief of Lucknow, Lucknow, Central India (Gunner W. Boyle, 1st Batt. Bengal Artillery) contact marks, otherwise very fine and very rare £2000-2500

Four-clasp medals were awarded to only 50 European recipients, all serving with the 3rd Company, 1st Battalion, Bengal Artillery.

William Boyle was born in the Parish of St Anne's, Dublin, and attested for unlimited service in the East India Company's Artillery at Newry on 23 April 1847, aged 21 years 9 months. He joined the E.I.C. recruit depot at Warley Barracks, Brentwood, Essex, on 13 May 1847, and was there allocated to Bengal. He embarked for India on the *Dartmouth*, arrived at Calcutta on 24 October 1847, and was posted as a Gunner to the 3rd Company 1st Battalion Bengal Artillery. He volunteered to the Royal Artillery in May 1861 and served with 16 Brigade, rising to the rank of Sergeant but, after various misdemeanours and two courts martial, was finally discharged as a gunner on 25 June 1867.

Refs. WO 97/1309; IOL L/MIL/10/180; L/MIL/10/124; L/MIL/9/33.



The Indian Mutiny and China campaign pair to Captain C. F. Battye, 22nd Punjab Infantry, one of the 'Fighting Ten' Battye brothers, four of whom were killed in action

- (a) INDIAN MUTINY 1857-59, no clasp (Lieut. C. F. Battye, 22nd Punjab Infy.)
- (b) CHINA 1857-60, no clasp (Lieut. C. F. Battye, 22nd P.N. Infy.) contemporary engraved naming, *nearly extremely fine* (2) £600-800



Charles Forbes Battye, sixth son of George Wynard Battye, Bengal Civil Service, was one of ten brothers who embraced the military life, and of whom famously four fell in action. Quentin, the second eldest, was second-in-command of the Guides on their epic 580-mile march from Mardan to Delhi in 1857, and was killed on the Ridge on the afternoon of their arrival. Shot through the abdomen, he died uttering the words, *"Dulce et decorum est pro patria mori."* Wigram, the third youngest son, was killed charging at the head of the Guides Cavalry at Fattehabad in 1879. Legh, the second youngest, was killed on the Black Mountain Expedition in 1888, and Frederick, the youngest, was killed in the Chitral Expedition in 1895. In addition, the eldest son of Legh Battye, Richmond, was killed in action during the Tirah campaign whilst serving with the 18th Bengal Lancers.

Charles was born in India on 26 April 1838 and was nominated for the Bengal Infantry by R. D. Mangles, M.P., on the recommendation of Mrs Plunkett and his father. Commissioned Ensign, he arrived at Fort William in late 1855 and was posted to the 33rd Native Infantry. The 33rd N.I. was disarmed at Philour on 25 June 1857 and sent to their homes. In June 1858 he was appointed Adjutant of the 3rd Irregular Light Cavalry, and afterwards to the 22nd Punjabis. Captain Charles Battye died in 1917.

Refs: Hodson Index (NAM); IOL L/MIL/10/61: IOL/MIL/10/67.



The Second China War medal to Major W. A. Warren, Madras Artillery

CHINA 1857-60, no clasp (Lieut. W. A. Warren, 5 Bn. Madras Arty.) officially impressed naming, fitted with silver ribbon buckle, *very fine* £250-300

William Andros Warren was born at Clifton, Gloucestershire, on 8 July 1839, son of Lieutenant-Colonel S. R. Warren, 65th Regiment (see lot 10). He was educated at Cheltenham College and entered Addiscombe in February 1857. He passed his examinations on 10 December 1858 and was gazetted as Lieutenant into the Madras Artillery on the following day. Other than a relatively quiet stint of service during the closing stages of the second campaign in China, he appears to have seen no active service. He was promoted to Captain in July 1872, and attached to the Cheshire Artillery Volunteers the following October, becoming Major in May 1877. He died at Lucknow on 11 December 1881.

Refs: IOL L/AG/23/1-2; Madras Army Lists; Hart's Army Lists; A List of Officers who have served in the Madras Artillery (Leslie).



The Second China War medal to Quarter-Master George S. Page, Indian Navy

CHINA 1857-60, 1 clasp, Taku Forts 1860 (Qr. Mr. Geo. S. Page, HMS. Coromandel I.N.) officially impressed naming, *nearly very fine and scarce* £350-400

George Page, a native of Kent, arrived from England on board the *Abott Lawrence* in 1858, and entered the Indian Navy for 3 years on 15 October 1858. Then aged 25 years, he was posted as Quarter Master on the *Coromandel*. Page was probably paid off in 1863 when the Indian Navy was wound up.

Ref: IOL L/MAR/C/726.



The Second China War medal to Lieutenant G. F. Dowdeswell, 11th Bengal Cavalry (Probyn's Horse)

CHINA 1857-60, 2 clasps, Taku Forts 1860, Pekin 1860 (Lieut. G. F. Dowdeswell, 11th Bengal Cavy.) officially impressed naming, *nearly extremely fine* £400-500

George Francis Dowdeswell, H.M.'s 89th Regiment, became Lieutenant on 26 February 1856, and was appointed one of twelve additional officers doing duty with the 1st Regiment of Sikh Irregular Cavalry (otherwise styled 11th Bengal Cavalry or Probyn's Horse) on 9 February 1860, while on foreign service in China. Following the return of Probyn's from China in early 1861, he remained with the corps after the reduction in establishment to seven regimental officers until January 1865. The Regimental Lists show that he was on leave in 1863 thus explaining his non participation in the Umbeyla campaign.

Ref: Probyn's Horse Regimental Lists, 1857-1907 (NAM).



The Second China War medal to Veterinary Surgeon John Field, Fane's Horse

CHINA 1857-60, 2 clasps, Taku Forts 1860, Pekin 1860 (Vety. Surgn. J. Field, Regt. of Fane's Horse) officially impressed naming, edge bruise, otherwise better than very fine £400-500

John Field was born in 1835 and baptised on August 12th of that year in the Parish of Saint Marylebone, Middlesex. He was the son of William Field, Veterinary Surgeon, of Old Quebec Street. Nominated a Veterinary Surgeon on the Bengal Establishment by Colonel Oliphant on 18 January 1859, John Field arrived at Calcutta in July 1859 and proceeded in charge of Remounts to Umballa. In December 1859, he was posted to 2nd Troop 3rd Brigade Bengal Horse Artillery and marched at once for Jubbulpore. On arriving at Saugor in March 1860, he received orders to join "Fane's Horse" 19 Bengal Cavalry, en route to China.

Field served with Fane's Horse during their stay in China and was present at the actions of 'Sinho, Takoo Forts, actions of the 18th and 21st September, 1860, and at the occupation of Pekin'. He was subsequently posted to Meean Meer, Artillery Division, which he joined in March 1862. In April 1863 he was granted leave to Europe on sick certificate. He transferred from the Bengal Establishment to the Royal Horse Artillery on 30 March 1866, went on temporary half pay in April 1874, and resigned on 22 April 1877.

Refs: IOL L/MIL/9/433; L/MIL/10/77; Hart's Army Lists.



The important group of Orders and Medals to Field-Marshal Sir Henry Wylie Norman, G.C.B., G.C.M.G., C.I.E., Bengal Infantry, Adjutant-General at the siege of Delhi, for many years Military Secretary to the Government of India and a Member of the Legislative Council of India, who refused the Viceroyalty of India on the resignation of the Marquess of Lansdowne and ended his days as Governor of Chelsea Hospital

(a) THE MOST HONOURABLE ORDER OF THE BATH (Military) G.C.B., Knights Grand Cross set of insignia, comprising sash badge, 18 carat gold and enamels, hallmarked London 1884, and breast star, silver, gold and enamels, with gold pin for wearing, the star with several small chips to green enamel wreath and to 'Ich Dien' scroll

(b) THE MOST DISTINGUISHED ORDER OF ST MICHAEL AND ST GEORGE, G.C.M.G., Knights Grand Cross set of insignia, comprising a superb early sash badge, gold and enamels, circa 1840, and breast star, silver, silver-gilt, gold and enamels

(c) THE ORDER OF THE INDIAN EMPIRE, C.I.E., Companion's breast badge, 1st type with INDIA on the petals, complete with gold top suspension brooch, this with some minor chips and loss to enamels, therefore very fine

(d) CORONATION 1902, silver, unnamed as issued

(e) PUNJAB 1848-49, 2 clasps, Chilianwala, Goojerat (Lieut. H. W. Norman, 31st Bengal N.I.)

(f) INDIAN MUTINY 1857-59, 3 clasps, Delhi, Relief of Lucknow, Lucknow (Lt. Col. H. W. Norman, Dep. Adj. Genl.)

(g) INDIA GENERAL SERVICE 1854-94, 1 clasp, North West Frontier (Lieut. H. W. Norman, Asst.-Adj.-Genl.) the last three with contact marks, otherwise very fine or better (9)

£12000-15000

Henry Wylie Norman, the son of James Norman, Calcutta merchant, and his wife Charlotte Wylie, was born in London on 2 December 1826 and was brought up chiefly by his maternal grandparents in Yorkshire and Ireland. In 1842 with only a scant education behind him he accompanied his mother to India on the *Ellenborough*, to join his father whom he barely knew. Norman longed to become a soldier and spent much of his time studying Hindustani and reading books on military history. His father objected to a military career on religious and other grounds, but after a 'dreary wait of eighteen months', Charles Mills, a Director of the H.E.I. Company who 'had never seen Norman or his parents' was induced by a family friend in England to nominate him for a direct appointment as a Cadet in the Bengal Infantry. 'A bare inquiry into the nominee's educational qualifications was satisfied by the answer that he had attended school, and if the medical examiners were a little more critical, they satisfied their consciences with the injunction, "You are thin and must fill out." At the time Norman weighed seven and a half stone.



Following the conclusion of the war, the 31st N.I. were sent up to Lahore as part of the British force under Colin Campbell, the future Lord Clyde. Conspiracies and intrigues were rife among the various the Sikh factions and talk in the mess was not of whether hostilities would be renewed but when. Norman meanwhile made the acquaintance of several of important men: 'I spent quite a fourth of my time with a guard of a hundred men at the Roshni gate of the city. Brigadier Campbell always made me breakfast and lunch with him when on guard and often employed me to copy out confidential letters. In this way I became well acquainted with him, and learned thoroughly to admire the kind-hearted, but quick-tempered old soldier.' He also met Henry and John Lawrence, Herbert Edwardes, and John Nicholson.

In April 1844 Norman was commissioned Ensign in the 31st Bengal N.I., but his appointment being in excess to the regimental establishment, he was directed to do duty with the 1st N.I. He left Calcutta in June, travelling by palanquin and river steamer, and joined them at Dinapore. In March 1845 a vacancy arose in the 31st and he was duly transferred. In January 1846 he was selected to act as Adjutant to a wing of the regiment being sent Bareilly. The First Sikh War was in progress and with the British heavily committed on the Sutlej, the descendants of the old Rohilla chiefs saw a chance to rise in revolt. Norman, aware of the potential insurrection, dabbled in a little intelligence work and cultivating friendly relations with his Native Officers and his *munshi* discovered that men of the 19th N.I. had attended a number of seditious meetings where rebellion had been discussed. However, news of the British victories at Aliwal and Sobraon convinced the ill-disposed that the time had not yet arrived to rid themselves of the *Feringhees*.



Promoted Lieutenant with command of the Light Company on Christmas Day 1847, Norman accompanied his regiment to Lerosepore in early 1848, but shortly after his arrival was diagnosed as suffering from smallpox he was sent up to Simla for six months to recuperate. While on sick leave he was appointed Adjutant and following the murders of Vans Agnew and Anderson at Mooltan on 20 April, he was immediately recalled to his regiment which was on stand by for an early move against the Mooltanis. But again Norman had to be patient, the authorities, besides being reluctant to engage in a hot weather campaign, decided that the 31st, having recently seen service in Afghanistan and Gwalior, should give way to a less fortunate corps. In November 1848 when the Sikhs finally rose in a national revolt, the 31st were brigaded with the 2nd Bengal Europeans and the 70th Bengal Native Infantry under Godby, in Sir Walter Gilbert's 2nd Division, and on the 22nd as part of the rear guard of the reconnaissance in force of the banks of the Chenab, near Ramnuggur, Norman witnessed the disastrous demise of the Adjutant-General of the Army, Charles Cureton, as he rode out to check the impetuous charge of the 14th Light Dragoons under Colonel Will Havelock.

Norman and the 31st next formed part of the force under Sir Joseph Thackwell which Sir Hugh Gough, realising that a direct assault across the Chenab was impracticable, sent fifty miles up river to cross by a ford and come down on the other side in order to turn the Sikh flank. Unfortunately Thackwell missed the crossing place and wasted valuable time in having to march on to Wazirabad, where John Nicholson with customary foresight had collected boats to ensure a safe crossing. Once on the right bank Thackwell pushed his troops on with all possible speed towards the Sikh army which he encountered in a strong position at Sadulapur on 14 December. But contenting himself with silencing the Sikh artillery he refused to take further action, maintaining that his troops were too tired. Norman and many officers disagreed.

The Sikhs having extricated themselves withdrew to the Jhelum and were followed up in the New Year by Gough. On the night of 12 - 13 January Gough's 15,000-strong army was encamped at Dinghi, and although no one knew for certain that there was to be a pitched battle next day, Norman and his brother officers broke up from mess that night with a solemn toast that they might all meet again next night.

The 31st Regiment was under arms at daylight and after marching four miles the army halted for breakfast. Word was then received that the Sikhs were shifting ground but without any sign of retreating. At this a Captain in the 31st correctly predicted, "Well, boys, there will be wigs on the green today!" At 2 p.m., however, Norman and his brother officers heard that Gough wished to defer action until the following day, and were discussing the unwelcome news when Dr. McCosh, who was up a tree with a telescope, reported an immense array of red coated Sikhs advancing towards them. No sooner had he imparted this, than the Sikh guns opened fire and he was summoned from his vantage point to attend to a regimental *bhisti* whose leg had been torn off by a round shot. The infantry was ordered into line in front of the village of Chilianwala, with the 31st taking post as the left hand regiment of Godby's brigade on the right of the British line.

When the advance began great difficulty was experienced in keeping formation owing to dense jungle, and at length the 31st lost touch with the other regiments of the brigade. 'It was difficult to see what was going on', Norman wrote, 'but the jungle becoming less dense, we found that there were many Sikhs in our rear, and the best plan seemed to be to conform to the advance of the 29th Foot, the right regiment of the brigade [under General Mountain] on our left.' Although he did not know it at the time, the confusion was being magnified by Brigadier Pope's cavalry debacle on the right.

In the absence of orders from either Godby or Gilbert, the 31st were ordered by Mountain's Brigade Major to join the sweep of the 29th Foot along the enemy's front to the left. But before this could be executed the 29th Foot were heavily attacked and were only saved by the personal intervention of Colin Campbell at the head of various elements of his division. But it was getting late in the day, and, as the Sikhs began to drift from the field, Gough and his staff rode up to give orders for the removal of the guns and wounded, and, after dark, for Campbell's regiments to fall back on Chilianwala where the army was assembling for the night. Norman remembered, 'there was considerable confusion, but we rejoined our brigade, and finding no troops on our right we threw back our right wing. We had no provisions, baggage, or tents, so the men just piled arms and laid down. We lay down behind them and passed a miserable, cold hungry night, not made more pleasant by the groans of some poor wounded officers and men in doolies behind us. There was some rain, and altogether things did not look cheerful in the morning.'

Gough's technical victory at Chilianwala in capturing forty guns and driving off the Sikhs was bought dearly at the price of 2,400 killed and wounded, and caused horror and indignation in England. Again Norman felt that the high command had failed to press home the advantage. While it was true that several regiments had suffered enormous losses, there were those like the 31st which had sustained only a handful of casualties and he believed there were some 7,000 or 8,000 men perfectly capable of following up the Sikhs next day with 'a good assurance of success'. 'No better authority on this point', he afterwards wrote, 'could be found than Major James Abbott who was then in Hazara, and in a position to receive full information. He wrote: 'Notwithstanding all the errors marking this indecisive battle, the Sikhs were to my knowledge so beaten that they had no thought of further resistance, and if followed up next day by half our army would have been driven pell-mell into the river [Jhelum].' From what I saw of the panic flight of a part of the Sikhs to the river during the advance and from the convictions in the minds of our men as to the certain success of an advance on the morning of January 14, I have no doubt that Major Abbott was right, and that a golden opportunity was thrown away.'

Following the fall of Mooltan in January 1849, Gough was reinforced by the besieging force and marched to meet the Sikhs at Goojerat on 21 February. In this crowning victory of the campaign, Norman's regiment was again brigaded with the 2nd Europeans and the 70th N.I. but this time under General Penny, and it was upon this brigade that devolved the decisive move of the battle, namely the attack on the village of Kalra. At Goojerat the 31st N.I. suffered casualties of eleven killed and 132 wounded from a Sikh battery which unnerved them, but which, when at last the regiment was ordered forward, was stormed and taken. Private Waterfield (qv) of H.M.'s 32nd recorded: 'The 31st Native Infantry who began to show their tails, left an opening that the enemy might easily have charged through, so our grenadiers turned and hooted them. This seemed to shame them a little, for they immediately returned to their places, charged the enemy in front, and took possession of two of their guns.' After witnessing the grand surrender of the Sikh army at Rawalpindi and chasing Sher Singh's Afghan allies back into their hills, Norman went in to quarters with his regiment at Peshawar.

In December 1849, he was appointed Brigade-Major at Peshawar to Sir Colin Campbell, and the following year accompanied the Kohat Pass expedition. Having seen service against the Mohmands, and Utman Khels, he was specially mentioned in despatches on 15 April 1852. In 1853 he was again in action on the frontier this time participating in Colonel Boileau's expedition against the Bori Afridis.

He was next appointed Deputy Assistant Adjutant-General and Aide-de-Camp to General Sir Abraham Roberts (the father of the Field Marshal) at Peshawar, where he rapidly made a name for himself as a first-rate staff officer. In 1855, he was posted to the headquarters of the Sarhind Division at Ambala, where his first duty was to take part in manoeuvres under General Mildmay Fane, a Waterloo officer, and his 'most energetic second in command' Brigadier Sydney Cotton (see Lot 41). Just as he was beginning to tire of garrison life at Ambala after the excitement of the frontier he was recalled to the 31st and given command of an isolated detachment when the regiment was deployed against the primitive Santhals, who, having been taken advantage of by moneylenders and petty Government officials, rose in violent revolt slaughtering every European and native man woman and child in sight. Norman was saddened to find that one of the victims of the revolt was a planter called Renshaw, who eleven years earlier had befriended him and supplied him fresh bearers after his own had deserted him during his journey during the to join the 1st N.I.

The Santals armed with bows and arrows and battle axes posed little danger to regular troops, their safety lying in the inhospitable nature of their country and the severity of the rainy season. The campaign however gave Norman a valuable chance to study the character of the Sepoy at close quarters: 'Except my own charming subaltern, who was soon to fall in action, I rarely saw a European and lived among my men. In this way and by constant association with my native officers I became very intimately acquainted with the character of the native soldiers, and I learned in an unmistakable way what they thought of the annexation of Oudh which took place and to which most of them belonged.'

At the end of the Santal campaign, Norman discovered that his predecessor at Peshawar preferred Ambala, and they exchanged appointments. Back on the frontier, he now found Cotton commanding the garrison and General Thomas Reed (qv) the division. However various changes at the headquarters of the Bengal Army caused by the retirement of the Adjutant-General left open the appointment of second assistant to his successor, Colonel Chester. Norman was appointed and after the 1,400-mile journey to Calcutta he met the new Commander-in-Chief, General the Hon. George Anson (qv). In September 1856 Norman left Calcutta with the headquarters staff on Anson's prolonged tour of inspection, visiting all the stations up to Allahabad, Cawnpore, Allighur, Lucknow, and Meerut. He remained at the latter station with the Adjutant-General's office for sometime before rejoining Anson for an inspection of the 1st and 2nd Bengal Europeans at Dagshai. Thereafter Norman accompanied Anson up to Simla.

On Sunday, 10 May 1857, the headquarters staff at Simla were stunned by the mutinous outbreak of the troops at Meerut. Next morning the widespread nature of the discontent was brought home to Norman when he saw a Persian placard nailed to a tree outside Anson's house hinting at trouble with the 1st Light Cavalry at Mhow and the 56th N.I. at Cawnpore. On the 12th an officer arrived from Ambala, where the telegraph ended, bearing with him the famous message despatched from the Delhi signalling office on the 11th. The copy handed to Norman read:

'We must leave the office. All the bungalows are burning down by the sepoy of Meerut. They came this morning. We are off. Don't call to-day. Mr. C. Todd [telegraph-master] is dead, I think. He went out this morning and has not returned yet. We heard that nine Europeans are killed. Good bye.'

As all available European troops were mustered to meet the emergency, Norman left Simla with Colonel Chester for the point of concentration at Ambala, whence they proceeded to Delhi. On the 27th, however, he was obliged to convey to his wife, Selina, 'the news of a worse enemy than the enemy': 'Poor General Anson was attacked with cholera yesterday, and died at 2.30 a.m. this morning. So General Barnard commands here, and General Reed [qv] becomes commander of the forces in Bengal, pro tem., ... a good many of the men have died of cholera, particularly in the 75th, and yesterday a good many of us had twinges, which brandy and laudanum removed. I had sharp pain, but by the above remedy and walking about I became all right or nearly so, in an hour; and have been able to work all along.'

On 8 June Norman was present with the Delhi Field Force at Badli-ki-Serai. He afterwards wrote: 'I was riding with Colonel Chester as his assistant that day, and as we came riding along in the grey of the morning, he expressed his delight at the prospect of at last engaging the mutineers after all our trials and anxieties. He felt sure of success ... I had shared his tent on the march, and I shall not readily forget the example he set me when night after night we were aroused by cruel tidings of outbreaks and massacres in which we had lost dear friends, but he never quailed before the storm, always confident of success ... He was in the act of replying to a remark I had made when a cannon shot struck him and passing through his horse both sank to the ground. At that moment a cry was raised of "The enemy's cavalry!" and I left him to tell the infantry lying down below us that it was a false alarm. When I returned he was dead.'

On death of Colonel Chester, the duties of Adjutant-General devolved on his assistant, until the arrival of Neville Chamberlain (qv) from the Punjab. However, on 14 July Chamberlain was wounded in repelling an assault by mutineers and rebels attacking the British position on the Ridge before Delhi. 'We advanced to drive the enemy from the suburbs with 1,000 infantry and six guns', Norman later recorded, 'We twice cleared them out, the second time effectually, but we suffered from grape fire from the city walls. Chamberlain was severely wounded, and also Walker and Fred Roberts, who, with myself were with Chamberlain. My horse was slightly wounded. It was our twenty-first fight, and, I believe, I was the only officer of the staff engaged throughout that escaped unhurt. I was for some time under heavy fire of grape and musketry. We had sixteen officers and 177 men killed and wounded.'

In consequence of Chamberlain's wound the Adjutant-General's work load fell once again on Norman. Following the death of Barnard, and Reed's succession as Commander-in-Chief, Norman summed up the situation on the Ridge in mid-July - 'General Reed in bed and very unwell; Chamberlain in some pain and obliged to be kept quiet; our prospects at their lowest ebb.' Reed's illness pointed to his evacuation with the sick and wounded, and begged the question of who was to succeed him. It was correctly believed that Sir Patrick Grant had been appointed, but he was in Calcutta. Therefore Norman took it upon himself to suggest that General Gowan commanding the Lahore Division should succeed as C-in-C, and arranged for his orders to be communicated to the staff at Delhi. Norman also wrote to the commander of the Cawnpore Division, Sir Hugh Wheeler, informing him of the new arrangement and expressing the hope that he would soon arrive with help. Meanwhile, the Delhi Field Force still lacked a commander, but 'here too Norman acted with the same courage and judgement'. He went to see Reed, who faced with exceptional circumstances decided to pass over the next two senior officers.

Norman afterwards wrote: 'I believe it is quite clear to any one who was acquainted with the senior officers of the force, that if we were to have a reasonable hope of capturing Delhi, it would not do to let the command fall into the hands of either of the two officers next senior to General Reed. Our mission was to take Delhi, and if we did not capture Delhi within some reasonable period it would be woe not only to us, but to British rule and British existence in India. It was believed that the third senior officer might be relied upon to do all that lay in man to capture the place. Of course, General Chamberlain was, by virtue of his nomination to the temporary rank of Brigadier-General, really the next senior officer to General Reed, but I do not allude to him ... That most gallant and distinguished officer, if well, would have been hailed by all as fitting successor to the command, but he was not available. The next in seniority ... was quite unsuited to carry the siege of Delhi to a successful conclusion. Next came Brigadier Wilson of the Artillery, in whom all had found good cause to place confidence. Therefore, in submitting to General Reed proposals for the command, I felt it my duty to suggest that he should make over command to Brigadier Wilson, and confer upon him, in anticipation of the sanction of Government, the rank of Brigadier-General, which would place him over all effective officers in camp.'

The same day that Archdale Wilson took over from Reed, Norman was mortified to learn from a native messenger the fate that had befallen General Wheeler and the Cawnpore garrison. 'Never shall I forget the solemnity with which he said the General and every European man, woman and child had been destroyed. A thrill of horror passed over me, for his bearing and tone convinced me that what he said was true'.

On 14 September, Norman entered the city with the storming columns and saw his fair share of the fighting. Near the Mori Bastion he found a European soldier and a Punjabi struggling over a purse torn from the body of a dead Sepoy. 'I told them both to let go and give the purse to me. Each professed himself ready to obey provided the other let go; but as neither would do this before the other, I forced both to let go by beating them with all my force on the knuckles with the hilt of my sword. The purse was full of rupees, and after upbraiding these men for their disorderly conduct and telling them they deserved nothing, I said that as all the men had come voluntarily and bravely to the attack they should have the rupees; so I dealt them out one by one all round, like a pack of cards, and kept for myself the mutineer's medal which was at the bottom of the purse, and from which I saw that the dead sepoy was Hanuman Upadhia, of the 18th Native Infantry, and that he had received the medal for service in the Punjab campaign'.

Following the capture of Delhi, Norman joined the Flying Column under Colonel Edward Greathed (see Lot 51) and was present at the actions of Bolundshuhur, Allighur, and Agra. On 21 October he was riding beside Brigadier Hope Grant (Ritchie 1-110), who had just relieved Greathed of the command of the column, when Hope Grant's horse, a 'trooper', suddenly lashed out and kicked Norman on the shin bone. Though the bone was not broken, the injury was painful and Norman had to continue the journey towards Lucknow in a dooley. Wisely he insisted on having his horse at hand, a precaution which probably saved his life on 2 November when the column was suddenly attacked at Bantera. Fred Roberts for one only escaped due to good horsemanship. Four days later Norman reported to his old chief, Sir Colin Campbell, the new C-in-C, and proceeded with him as Deputy Adjutant-General to the relief of Lucknow. On the 10th near the Alum Bagh, he was leaving Sir Colin's tent when he was jostled in the doorway by a scruffy looking native, whom he cursed in Hindustani and ordered to stand aside. 'To his surprise the answer came back in English, "I have come out of the Residency with letters for the Commander-in-Chief"'. The speaker was Thomas Kavanagh, 'a ludicrously vain Irishman' employed in the Chief Commissioner of Oudh's office, who had come out with a message warning Campbell not to enter the city by the canal bridge as the first relief force had done, but to cross the canal north of the Dilkusha by the Matinière, and then advance through the palace area south of the Gumti to the Residency.

On the 16th, the army having fought its way through the outskirts of Lucknow, Norman played a prominent part in the capture of the Shah Nujeef, a strong loop-holed tomb. 'Nearly every officer of the headquarters' staff was wounded or had his horse shot', he told his wife, 'My horse was twice hit, and as he reared on receiving the second blow a bullet struck him in the side, but I managed to ride him for half an hour longer'. With his usual modesty he omitted to tell her of his part in rallying Major Barnston's battalion of Detachments at a crucial moment. However his friends, the future Field Marshals Frederick Roberts and Evelyn Wood, both acknowledged his gallantry.

Roberts recorded, 'The Commander-in-Chief, with Hope Grant, Mansfield and Adrian Hope, and their respective staffs, were sitting on their horses anxiously awaiting the result of the attack, when all at once it became apparent that there was a retrograde movement on the part of some men, who were emerging from the belt of jungle and hastening towards us. Norman was the first to grasp the situation. Putting his spurs to his horse, he galloped into their midst, and called on them to pull themselves together; the men rallied at once, and advanced into the cover from which they had for the moment retreated. I had many opportunities for noting Norman's coolness and presence of mind under fire. On this particular occasion these qualities were most marked, and his action was most timely.' Wood remembered 'Norman rallied and sent them forward again, and then, supports coming up, the buildings east of the enclosure were seized and burnt'.

Having relieved and evacuated the Lucknow garrison and having taken part in the battle of Cawnpore on 6 December, Norman turned his attention to the onerous task of organising the largest army of European troops ever to assemble on Indian soil. A start was also made in raising the new native army, all of which meant more work for the Sir Colin's new Deputy Adjutant-General, who later confessed, 'I sometimes complained that the work almost killed me'. When all was ready, operations against the 120,000 rebels occupying Lucknow commenced on 2 March. On the 11th, Norman learnt of the death of William Hodson, whom he judged 'a leader of irregulars in our time probably unsurpassed', though not without 'serious faults'. He attended his funeral in the Martinière that night: 'It was quite dark, a lantern being held up to enable the chaplain to read the service. Sir Colin, General Mansfield, Sir E. Lugard and a few others were there. I can hardly realise his death.'

Three days later Norman was again in the thick of the fighting, this time at the Engine House. 'I had a great deal of exposure, and was several times under musketry fire from loop-holes at twenty yards distance. Round shot fire was sharp, and more than once I had to stand a dose of grape. Explosions were frequent, and Edwin Johnson and I stood for some time on a bastion of the Imambara where a few minutes later an explosion took place which blew up several unfortunate soldiers.' The fighting at Lucknow ended on the 21st, whence his friends Roberts, Probyn et al were scattered and he was given time to reflect on his omission on the Delhi honours that had been announced a few days earlier. 'I am not included', he told his wife, 'though every A.D.C. who was a Captain is a Brevet-Major. Having been in nearly eighty actions and skirmishes, it seems odd that I cannot be rewarded, even though head of the Adjutant-General's department in a large army and during very important operations. It will come pretty right in time, I suppose.'

Norman next served in the Rohilkhund campaign, and on 5 May was riding ahead of the main force with Harry Tombs' horse artillery troop in the advance to Bareilly when he received his only wound. One of Tombs' subalterns wrote, 'He had a marvellous escape ... a round shot from the battery fired at our troop fell short, and ricocheted, striking and killing the sergeant of No. 3 gun, the centre driver of No. 4 gun, and then plunged into and killed Norman's horse, the shot grazing Norman himself'. He subsequently took part in the cold weather campaign in Oudh, being present at the engagements of Buxar Ghat, Burgudia, Majudia and on the Raptia. He had now been mentioned in despatches and General Orders twenty-three times, and finally received official recognition from the Viceroy, albeit the mere notification of his 'best acknowledgements'. However, further honours did follow in rapid succession.

Having returned to Simla, where he applied his mind to problem of the 'White Mutiny' resulting from the transfer of some 30,000 European troops from the service of the Company to the Queen without consultation or their consent, he was awarded a C.B. upon his promotion to the rank of local Lieutenant-Colonel. At the end of the year he followed his wife and family home to England where a warm reception awaited him in official circles and 'London Society opened its arms to him'. The Queen invested him with his C.B. and an invitation 'to dine and sleep at Windsor Castle' followed.

On 1 October 1860 Norman was appointed Military Secretary to the Duke of Cambridge, and two months later was finally promoted from the rank of Lieutenant becoming Captain on 2 December; Brevet Major on the 3rd; and Brevet Lieutenant-Colonel on the 4th. His career thereafter was gradually diverted to civil administration. In 1862 he returned to India as First Secretary to the Government in the Military Department and in this capacity had to 'endure the criticisms and attacks of many vested interests affected by the financial stress and the reorganisation schemes of the period following the Mutiny'. Stricken with fever, he was sent home in 1865, but resumed his duties in India two years later.

He was advanced to Major-General in March 1869, whereupon he relinquished his appointment as A.D.C. to the Queen which he had held since 1863. From 1 June 1870 to March 1879 he was a Member of the Council of India, and advocated on every occasion friendly relations with Russia and forbearance towards the Amir at Kabul. Like Neville Chamberlain, he was strongly opposed to Lord Lytton's forward policy, and as a result he resigned in March 1877.

Having been created a K.C.B. in 1873, Norman was promoted Lieutenant-General in October 1877. The following year he was re-appointed a member of the Council of India and in 1882 was made General. The next year he resigned from the India Office to become Governor of Jamaica. For services on the island he was created a G.C.M.G. in May 1887 and the following month advanced to a G.C.B. He next proved himself an able and sympathetic administrator in Queensland. During his term of office in Australia, Lord Kimberly, Secretary of State for India offered him in, September 1893, the Viceroyalty of India on the resignation of the Marquess of Lansdowne. Norman accepted the honour normally reserved for a member of the aristocracy, but in the course of the next few days he found that 'the excitement and anxieties so upset him at the age of sixty-seven years, that he could not expect to stand the the strain of so arduous an office for five years'. Accordingly he withdrew his acceptance and the 9th Earl of Elgin, who had absolutely no wish to be Viceroy, was sent out instead.



In 1901 Norman was made a Governor of Chelsea Hospital and on 26 June 1902 was raised to the rank of Field Marshal. Despite failing health he sat on the South African War Commission, but the end was in sight. As he lay dying at Chelsea, Sir Thomas Barlow the senior medical officer, having done everything that science of the day permitted, sat at his bedside and asked what he regarded as the most useful service he had rendered the country during his long and varied career. "Without doubt at the siege of Delhi," came the reply. The Field Marshal breathed his last on 26 October 1904, and was buried with full military honours at Brompton Cemetery. 'His companion in the siege of Delhi, Sir Dighton Probyn (qv), represented the King, with numerous old friends grouped around the grave. The Legislative Assembly of Queensland adjourned on receipt of the news of his death, and everywhere, both at home, in India, and in the colonies where he had served, the public grief was fitly expressed.'

Refs: Memoirs of Field Marshal Sir Henry Wylie Norman (Lee-Warner); Dictionary of National Biography; Forty-One Years in India (Roberts).



An interesting campaign pair to General Sir J. L. Vaughan, G.C.B., 5th Punjab Infantry (later Vaughan's Rifles), a special correspondent for the *Times* during the second Afghan War

(a) INDIAN MUTINY 1857-59, no clasp (Major I. L. Vaughan, 5th Punjab Infy.)

(b) INDIA GENERAL SERVICE 1854-94, 2 clasps, North West Frontier, Umbeyla (Lieut.-Col. J. L. Vaughan, Comndt. 5th Punjab Infy.) *light contact marks, otherwise good very fine* (2) £1500-2000

John Luther Vaughan, the fourth son of the Rev Edward Vaughan, of Leicester, was born on 6 March 1820 and was educated at Rugby, where by his own account he failed to share the enthusiasm for school-life felt by the author of *Tom Browne's Schooldays*. He was no believer in 'the occult influence of Dr. Arnold's personality', and was nothing if not outspoken in his sole encounter with the great man. The schoolboy Vaughan, returning from a coaching inn at Dunchurch in a state of intoxication, was reported by an ill-natured servant to his housemaster who in turn sent for the Reverend Doctor. Arnold was cracking down on drinking and in this direction he had been largely successful, often filling the offenders with a deep sense of remorse and even reducing the most loutish youths to tears. However, on asking Vaughan some question as to his motive, the wavering schoolboy told the headmaster, "You are drunk, Sir."

Expelled from Rugby, Vaughan studied under a clergyman at Leicester, though anxious to follow a military career. His widowed mother lacked the funds to support him as an officer in a British regiment, and he considered himself doomed by the prospect of varsity life. Then in 1840 a Cadetship in the Bengal Infantry was offered and on 12 October of the same year he sailed for India, arriving at Calcutta on 21 February 1841. His next ambition was to avoid service with Sepoys and join one of the Bengal European regiments. He was, however, persuaded by friends against this course and accepted without appeal his nomination to an Ensigncy in the 21st N.I. a thousand miles away at Moradabad. After an expensive journey he could ill afford, he joined his corps and soon fell in with an old school fellow, Lieutenant Chambers, the Interpreter and Quartermaster of the regiment, who at Rugby had won considerable acclaim for a 'fistic encounter with a noted bully of the town twice his age and height'. Chambers' great zeal for his soldiering was shared by Vaughan, but by none of the other officers, old or young. The regiment had not seen service since Bhurpoore in 1826, and further suffered from the fact that Moradabad was a single regiment station. In short Vaughan was deeply disappointed with the 21st which in every point fell far short of his ideal.

Having qualified in Hindustani at Fort William, Vaughan, through the patronage of the Commander-in-Chief, Sir Jasper Nicolls, was appointed Acting Interpreter and Quartermaster to the 53rd N.I. at Meerut, which provided a convenient stepping stone to a minor appointment in the Commissariat Department which promisingly was attached to Sir Hugh Gough's field force that was about to invade Gwalior. Vaughan, eager for his first taste of battle, approached Major-General John Littler (see Lot 33) and further enhanced his prospects by asking to serve as an extra A.D.C. if and when Littler's brigade was engaged. Littler consented and on 29 December 1843, Vaughan, mounted on a powerful country-bred horse, found his way to the fore in the battle of Maharajpore.

In a letter written immediately after the battle Vaughan described his baptism of fire: 'And now began a scene which I had often burned to be a sharer in: as we (the 39th Foot and the 56th Native Infantry) advanced, they got our range exactly, and every shot came plump into the column. I speak of the 39th, as I was with them, the 56th being more to the right. If it had not been that the ground was very soft (having been lately ploughed up, and chiefly covered with young wheat) the ricochet of the shot must have killed many more. The men generally fell by twos, front and rear rank men; of course we could not stop then to render them any assistance, so poor fellows were left where they fell, to take their chance of reaching the field hospital in the rear. It seemed an awful while before we got to the village; when 300 or 400 yards from it, the order was given to deploy into line ... they commenced firing grape, canister, old iron, horse-shoes, etc., and anything they could cram in, and here we lost most of the men who fell. The sound of the shells was unmistakable, even to a novice, and anything but pleasant. However they were quickly stopped by the British bayonets of the 39th and 56th. The battery presented a most curious sight. The guns, which were painted blue and red, were blackened with smoke, and at the foot of each lay ten or twelve men on whom the bayonet had left its deadly mark

... At this moment I was ordered by the General to go to the officer commanding the 56th, and direct him to dress his regiment ready for the rush into the guns. I delivered the message, but in returning to the General's side, my horse, which had been in a very excited state throughout, became perfectly unmanageable, and went straight away for the enemy's battery! I saw that my only chance was to pull him up instantly, so stooping forward I laid hold of the head-stall, and wrenched his head round. In doing this my curb-bit came in two! I can only suppose that the horse was as much surprised as myself, for it quietened him at once. I dismounted, waited till the 39th came up, and then, letting him go (for a led horse would be rather an encumbrance in charging a battery), I fell in with the Grenadiers of the 39th, and had the honour of making the final charge with them ... I do not make any mention of the horrors of battle - the dreadful wounds exhibited both by horses and men. They are such as I shall never forget, and yet with all this I would willingly sacrifice everything I possess hereafter, for one more day like December 29, 1843.'

Vaughan was mentioned in Little's despatch, but more important to him was the award of his first medal. 'I am afraid it was owing chiefly to the desire to exhibit this decoration as quickly as possible to my comrades of the 21st, that I resolved to rejoin my regiment instead of returning to my duties, as I might have done with the 53rd N.I. at Meerut. I had in my boyhood read in one of Marryat's novels of a young hero who, after his first action, returned to his friends, "with the bronze of battle on his brow"! I almost fancied myself such a young hero, and thought to display the "bronze of battle" which I had acquired at Maharajpore to the admiring eyes of comrades and the regimental womankind!'

He rejoined the 21st at Barrackpore, slipping into the post of Interpreter and Quartermaster recently vacated by Chambers, and shortly afterwards found some justification for his thinly disguised contempt for the Bengal Sepoy. The issue of a new item of equipment, which the Sepoys were obliged to pay for through stoppages in their pay, caused resentment towards the young Quartermaster. Groups of Sepoys collected in the lines to grumble amongst themselves, and a 'mutinous scoundrel' threw a stone at Vaughan. Vaughan reported the incident to the peppery old Colonel who could scarcely be persuaded to leave his hookah in order to look into the matter. When he eventually went down to the lines he harangued the men in a jocular manner, and, to Vaughan's chagrin, ordered the release of the ringleaders whom Vaughan had arrested. 'From that day', wrote Vaughan, 'a deep distrust of the Sepoys took possession of me ... I regarded with aversion the thought that my life was to be spent with men whom I now saw to be ready to mutiny for a trivial cause, and who had shown that they held their officers in no real respect or affection.' And this was 1844! A few months later Vaughan became Adjutant, and notwithstanding his new found feelings, he resolved to turn the 21st into 'the smartest regiment in the Army'. By 1850 the corps had a reputation second to none for discipline and smartness, and when the Mutiny broke out in 1857, the 21st was the only regiment at Peshawar which Sir Sydney Cotton (see Lot 41) allowed to retain its arms. The 21st survived to become the 1st Native Infantry post Mutiny.

When Sir Hugh Gough succeeded Nicolls, Vaughan lost the patronage of the C-in-C and was unable to obtain any appointment during the Sikh Wars, though his applications were many. He was so desperate to get to the front that he familiarised himself with 'the science of electricity' and submitted a wheeze by which he thought he might be able to explode mines under the Sikh camps with an electric battery. His hare-brained scheme was rejected out of hand, but it stuck in the mind of Sir Henry Lawrence that a young officer should go to such lengths, and five years later, when casting about for officers for the newly raised Punjab Irregular Frontier Force, he wrote to Vaughan. Vaughan called upon Sir Henry at Lahore, through which the 21st were passing, to learn the nature of his future employment, and was bidden to luncheon where he met John Lawrence and a fellow Old Rugbeian by the name Hodson who was evidently in favour with the Lawrences and was employed by them as a sort of military secretary. Also present was Sir Henry's A.D.C., a son of Dr. Arnold, who later wrote a novel set in India which Vaughan liked to think met with little success.

Gazetted second in command of the 2nd Punjab Infantry at Kohat, Vaughan at once fell into temporary command of the regiment, and became associated with the great men of the frontier school - John Nicholson, Reynell Taylor, John Coke, Sam Browne, Wilde, Daly, Keyes and the rest. In the summer of 1850, Vaughan was placed in command of a mixed force of about 1,000 men at Nurree to protect the salt mines against incursions by the Wuzeeris. 'I passed the next nine months in command of this Nurree post. I was the only European, officer or man, and spent my time, not on the whole unpleasantly, in exploring a then unknown country, and in making friends, according to my instructions, with the people of the valley. I soon acquired a colloquial knowledge of the language they spoke - Pushtoo or Afghanee - and the idea then occurred to me of constructing a grammar of the language, a task never seriously attempted before. In this I eventually succeeded, and published it two years later in Calcutta. It was, of course, very elementary and unpretending, but was found useful by my comrades of the Force, and gained me credit with the Punjab Government and with my chiefs, General Hodgson [qv] and Neville Chamberlain [qv]. The latter, in subsequent years, in his tours of inspection, often used me as his confidential interpreter where secrecy was desirable.'

In 1851 Vaughan was promoted to the command of the 5th Punjab Infantry at Dera Ghazi Khan in the lower Trans-Indus country. In the autumn of 1854 he was laid low while staying at the club house used by 'Piffer' officers on shooting expeditions in the Trans-Indus mountains with an abscess in the hand. In the absence of a doctor his condition became serious, and he was subsequently advised to take furlough to England. He sailed in April 1855 from Bombay and fell in with a like minded officer of the Madras Army. The Crimean War was at its height and they agreed 'it would be a fine thing if we could get service in the Turkish contingent, and spend our furlough in fighting the Russians, instead of amusing ourselves in England'. Though anxious to serve before Sebastopol, Vaughan and his friend were subsequently employed at the headquarters at Kertch which soon proved to be the backwater that it was. The closest he came to the Russians was when he took part in a reconnaissance of the Spit of Arabat in a Royal Navy gun boat.

War service and leave complete, Vaughan rejoined the 5th P.I. at Kohat in early 1857 a few months before the Bengal Mutiny erupted. One evening in mid May he received a message from Chamberlain with news that the Meerut garrison had mutinied and ordering him to secure the important bridge of boats at Attock then in the hands of the 55th N.I. He set out with his regiment that night, and after four long marches entered the old Sikh fort at Attock. He then sent one of his three British officers to relieve the bridge guard of the 55th. At first the Sepoys refused to move without orders from their own C.O., Colonel Spottiswode, but as the latter was miles away the British officer threatened to use force and the guard was eventually persuaded to withdraw and rejoin the main body of their corps at Mardan. Vaughan then received further orders from John Lawrence 'and his able coadjutors, Neville Chamberlain, Sydney Cotton, Herbert Edwardes, and John Nicholson, who at that time formed a sort of committee of public safety at Peshawar', to leave half his regiment at Attock and proceed with all possible haste with the rest to a rendezvous with Nicholson four miles from Mardan as the 55th was now considered unreliable despite Spottiswode's protestations to the contrary.

The rendezvous with Nicholson was made shortly after sunrise, and together they approached Fort Mardan. A hundred Sepoys together with the British officers of the 55th came out to meet them, and said that the rest of the regiment between 700 and 800 strong had deserted at dawn and that Colonel Spottiswode 'had blown out his brains in disgust at their conduct'. 'This sad news', Vaughan recalled, 'was confirmed by a letter found on the Colonel's table addressed to me. In this letter Spottiswode reproached me as being the cause of the mutiny of his regiment and his consequent suicide ... The letter was painful reading ...' Arrangements were quickly made for a pursuit, and Nicholson started hot-foot with a few Sowars of his personal escort, closely followed by Vaughan and his irregular infantrymen. A few stragglers were overtaken and killed (and 120 prisoners taken and returned to Peshawar to face the wrath of Sydney Cotton) but the greater part of the 55th escaped only to be savaged over the ensuing months by wild hillmen with whom they hoped to ally themselves.



At John Lawrence's insistence, and to Vaughan's disappointment, the 5th P.I. was detained in the Punjab and subsequently employed in suppressing several risings fomented by the colony Hundustani fanatics which had established itself some years earlier at Sittana. During the first of these operations, Vaughan had a close call: 'Whilst my regiment was making its way through the intricate lanes of Narinjee, eight or nine men, easily recognizable as Hindoostanee fanatics from Sitana, appeared from behind from behind a wall, naked tulwar in hand, and advanced towards me in the attitude of attack as practised in the native gymnasium. I fired at the group with the Dean and Adams revolver I then carried, but for the life of me I could not discharge the second chamber! I probably forgot, in the excitement of the moment, that the pressure on the trigger had to be withdrawn after each shot in order to clear the action for the next. I thought all was over with me, but a section of Sikhs happily saw my danger, and promptly came to the rescue. Since then I have always carried in service a Colt revolver.'

Following the fall of Lucknow in early 1858, Vaughan arrived in Oudh with his regiment and was brigaded in the division commanded by Sir Hope Grant (Ritchie 1-110). 'The rest of the year was spent in eternal marches and counter-marches through the length and breadth of Oude, varied by occasional indecisive encounters with an ever-vanishing enemy. There was just sufficient excitement to outweigh the discomforts of a hot weather campaign in India.' During much of this period Vaughan was detached in independent commands, and it fell to him to track Nana Sahib, the beast of Cawnpore, to his last known resting place in Nepal beyond the Raptree. Vaughan's Mutiny experiences brought him the thanks of the Government of India on two occasions, and more importantly helped establish the full value of the frontier regiments. In connection with the latter, Field Marshal Lord Wolseley wrote: 'These Punjab regiments consisted of fine fighting men, soldiers by instinct and by birth: Pathans, Paunjaubee Mussulmans, Sikhs and even Afridees from beyond our frontiers ... no men ever fought more gallantly than they did under the remarkable officers selected to lead them. Under men like Sir Dighton Probyn [qv], Sam Browne, Hodson, Wilde, Vaughan, and other famous leaders, they could be depended on to go anywhere and attempt anything.'

After a short furlough to England, Vaughan returned to Calcutta where he renewed a slight previous acquaintance with Colonel (later Field Marshal Sir) Henry Norman (see Lot 85). 'He acquainted me with some of the ideas under which he had evolved the scheme of the Staff Corps; and it was with his approval that I wrote an article on the Staff Corps in the *Calcutta Review*. The object of the article was to popularize the idea of the Staff Corps by explaining how it would affect the future of those who joined it, as well as those who stood aloof from it ... It seemed to me then, and it does now, that to belong to a corps of officers created to provide a suitable man for every branch of the public service, from Governor-General to subaltern in a marching regiment, is something to be proud of. There is really no exaggeration in the above description of the elasticity of the Staff Corps, for the deviser of it - [Norman] himself an officer in it - was actually, we know, offered (and refused) the Viceroyalty of India!'

In spite of Sir Sydney Cotton's successful campaign against the fanatics at Sitana in 1858, the group soon re-established itself amidst the Pathan tribes and their presence was once more detected in disturbances on the Yusufzai frontier. In the autumn of 1862 Vaughan spent some weeks with Chamberlain obtaining intelligence about them, and early the next year the Government sanctioned the formation of Chamberlain's Yusufzai Field Force of 5,600 men which was to drive one group who had been raiding from their village at Malka out into the plains beyond the Chamla Valley. The force marched on 18 October 1863, intending to advance into the Chamla via the Umbeyla Pass, but great difficulty was experienced in getting the elephants and baggage through the defile, and after three days the whole expedition came to dead stop. The Bunerwals, who lived nearby but who were not originally involved, were afraid that the British had come to annex their territory in the valley, and in alarm they attacked the force, wrecking in one fell swoop the original plan. A direct advance on Malka up the Chamla with the Bunerwals flanking the seventeen mile line of march was now out of the question, and Chamberlain, with one man in ten sick, was forced to take up a defensive position near the pass as other tribes flocked to join the Bunerwals.

Vaughan served in command of his regiment throughout the campaign, firstly in charge of the left of the defences on Curroo Mountain at the head of the pass. Withdrawn from that position, his regiment was engaged in fatigue duties at the upper camp on 20 November when Crag Picquet was overrun by enemy tribesmen:

'What was happening at the Crag picket was seen by General Chamberlain at the main camp almost as soon by us. In the space of a few minutes the General's orders reached me not to move, but to await the reinforcements he was bringing. In about a quarter of an hour he arrived, bringing the 71st Highlanders and the 5th Goorkah regiment. He directed Colonel Hope to lead his Highlanders straight up the rocky path which led to the captured picket, and told me to lead the 5th Goorkahs and my own regiment up the hill by a slight circuit, so as to take the enemy in the flank and rear. No time was lost. The advance of the Highlanders under the leading of Colonel Hope was very imposing, and attracted the admiration of all who witnessed it. With equal spirit, but in less compact order, owing to the nature of the ground, the Goorkahs and my own regiment breasted the ascent and performed the task assigned them. It was a steep pull to the crags which gave the picket its name, but not for a moment was the issue doubtful. The united columns followed the flying tribesmen for about half a mile, the men burning to avenge the distressing sight of the mutilated bodies of the gallant defenders, British and Native, of the captured picket.'

'General Chamberlain himself accompanied and directed the advance of the troops to recover the Crag picket. He retained me at his side to receive any further instructions which might be necessary till the picket was retaken. When about two-thirds of the ascent had been accomplished, the General was unfortunately struck by a bullet in the forearm. He, however, continued to direct the advance, and it was only when the victory was won that he was persuaded to return to camp, and have his wound attended to. It need not be said how we all deplored the mishap which had befallen our Chief ... About the same time ... I was struck by a bullet fired from the direction of the water picket ... The sensation was as if someone had hit me a most violent blow across both thighs. The wound, though it bled freely, was happily superficial, and I was able to lead my men till the two attacking columns were re-united half a mile beyond the Crag picket.'

The Commander-in-Chief, Sir Hugh Rose, was obliged to replace Chamberlain with General Gavrock, and in the meantime he sent two staff officers from Simla to take note of the situation. Vaughan recalled: 'The two officers were, Colonel Adye, subsequently honourably known as General Sir John Adye, and Major, now Field Marshal Lord Roberts, our late Commander-in-Chief. I well remember the feeling, compounded partly of anger at what we thought implied a slight to our General, and partly of approving envy, with which we, in our soiled fighting dress, watched the trim uniforms and well polished boots of the Simla emissaries, as they were conducted over the position!' On 15 December, Gavrock and his reinforcements moved out to attack the tribesmen blocking the route. Vaughan remained in command of the camp. 'Simultaneously with the attack on our left', Gavrock reported to Rose, 'the camp was assailed by a large body of the enemy. But the force left to defend it under that very excellent officer, Lieutenant-Colonel Vaughan, well discharged its important duty'. Vaughan concluded: 'The Umbeyla campaign won for me the much coveted distinction of a Companion of the Bath, and the award of a medal, with clasp in addition, for general service on the North-West frontier.'

At the close of the campaign Vaughan went to Noshwera where he was well received by Sir Hugh Rose, and thence to Peshawar. He rejoined the 5th P.I. at Kohat and as the senior officer found himself in command of a sizeable force of all arms. From this now quiet quarter, he took a characteristic view of events occurring elsewhere. In February 1866, he wrote to relatives in England, 'We are all very sorry to see the latest accounts from America. How sadly the war has been turning against the Confederates', and, later in November, he commented, 'How grievous English politics are now ... We are sadly going down in the world'. In view of the fact that he would soon be obliged to leave the 5th on promotion to full Colonel, and that the command of Frontier Force had just been given to Colonel Wilde, Vaughan arranged to take his next annual leave at Simla in order to make himself known to Rose's successor, Sir William Mansfield, and 'the official dispensers of army patronage'. To this end his efforts were in some measure successful and in 1868 he was appointed to the command of a brigade consisting of H.M.'s 1/6th Foot, the 2nd Gurkhas and the 3rd Sikh Infantry in the brief expedition of October 1868 to the Black Mountain. He returned briefly to his regiment but was shortly obliged to bid it a tearful farewell. Over a quarter of a century later, however, on the renumbering of the Indian Army in 1903, he had the honour of learning that the 5th Punjab Infantry, which he had commanded 'for seventeen years in all the vicissitudes of frontier service', was to be redesignated 58th Vaughan's Rifles Frontier Force.

In January 1869 Vaughan was appointed to the command of the Gwalior district with the rank of Brigadier-General on the Army Staff. He was introduced to the then Maharajah Scindia at a formal interview by Major-General Crawford Chamberlain (qv). The formalities however belied a fact which surprised Vaughan - several 18-pounder guns were perpetually levelled at the Maharajah's palace. This indignity, however, ceased shortly afterwards, and the British garrison which had occupied Scindia's ancestral fortress since Mutiny days was also withdrawn. After only a year in this brigade command Vaughan was unexpectedly promoted Major-General due to readjustment to the dates of commission of senior officers. Consequently he had to give up his command at Gwalior, and could only find temporary employment in command of the Allahabad Division until the nominated officer arrived from England.

Bearing a definite grudge, Vaughan returned home short of money and was perforce 'reduced to the idle dilettanti life of the London club'. For three or four years he submitted articles to the periodicals of the day, but without much success, whilst waiting for a recall to military duty. When none came he somewhat reluctantly accepted an offer of employment as the General Manager of the London and North Western Railway at Euston Station. After four years of 'the eternal racket of railway life', Vaughan was informed by his employers that his services were no longer required. He felt, however, the loss was entirely the L.N.W.R.'s since they would no longer benefit from the services of 'a general and a gentleman'.

The prospect of war with Afghanistan in 1878, however, offered new hope of military employment. Vaughan conceded that the claims of Sir Sam Browne and Sir Donald Stewart were worthier than his own to the commands of the two of three columns that would enter the country, but privately he thought himself at least as well qualified as Roberts for the command of the other. When his hopes were dashed, he offered his services to the *Times* and was duly appointed war correspondent. A press pass from the *Times* opened all the right doors on his arrival at Calcutta in early 1879 giving him ready access to the Viceroy, Lord Lytton, and his private secretary, Colonel Colley, who was destined to lose his life not long after under miserable circumstances in Natal. At Gandamak, Vaughan interviewed Sir Louis Cavagnari, the soon to be murdered envoy at Kabul, then awaiting the arrival of Yakub Khan to discuss treaty terms. As soon as the Treaty of Gandamak was signed, Vaughan was ordered by his employers to withdraw and was in the Middle East when he received news of the demise of the Kabul embassy. He immediately about turned to join Frederick Roberts.

On 21 October 1879, Lytton wired Roberts from Simla: 'General Vaughan is about to proceed thither [Kabul] as correspondent for the *Times*. I will give him a letter to you; and I want you to be particularly civil to him. The *Times*, which reflects, I think, the present disposition of the Cabinet, has been strongly deprecating any further annexation beyond the limits of the districts assigned to us by the Gundamuk Treaty ... General Vaughan is ready to write up any policy, of which the cue is given to him by me, or by you on my behalf. His letters to the *Times* from Kabul may have a considerable effect upon public opinion at home, and through it, possibly, on the attitude of the Cabinet. I want you, therefore, to keep him in good humour and up to the mark.'

Roberts, an expert manipulator of the press, replied on 30 November: 'General Vaughan has been talking to me about the future of Afghanistan: he seems to agree with my views and as he will probably write about them I should like to be favoured with Your Excellency's instructions as to whether they are such as you would wish advocated in the London papers.'

It appears that Roberts was entirely successful in his dealings with Vaughan in accordance with Lytton's wishes, for Vaughan recalled: 'I do not remember that during my ten month's stay at Kabul with Roberts' army, or on the subsequent march to Kandahar, anything in the nature of a censorship of the Press existed. It might have been different had there been many correspondents of the London Press in camp, but ... the *Times* was the only London paper represented by a special correspondent. My intercourse with Roberts was of such a pleasant character that I was allowed by him, to my great satisfaction, as well as to the advantage of the *Times*, to put before him some of my more important letters and telegrams before despatch; and he often enabled me to make them more full and accurate.'

In the camp of the defeated Ayub Khan near Kandahar it was Vaughan's duty to report the discovery of the body of Lieutenant Hector MacLaine (see Lot 96) who had been taken prisoner during the retreat from the battle of Maiwand. With the Afghan War at its end, Vaughan left for England, but on the way home he was redirected to cover the operations against the Boers in South Africa. These operations, however, were brought to an unsatisfactory conclusion before he arrived. In 1884 his various services were officially acknowledged when he was created a Knight Commander of the Bath. He ultimately attained the rank of full General and in 1905 was further advanced to a G.C.B. At the age eighty-two, Vaughan took a bride, Agnes, daughter of Canon Gilbert Beresford, and, finding it an enlightening experience, recanted his former condemnation of the married condition as 'domestic insipidity'. The General retired to Tunbridge Wells and died on 2 January 1911.

Refs: Who Was Who; My Service in the Indian Army and After (Vaughan); Roberts in India The Military Papers of Field Marshal Lord Roberts, 1876-1893; The Life of Field Marshal Sir Neville Chamberlain (Forrest).



The fine campaign group of four to General W. E. Mulcaster, Bengal Cavalry, who commanded the first and unsuccessful expedition to Bhootan in 1865

- (a) CABUL 1842, unnamed as issued, fitted with original steel clip and bar suspension
- (b) SUTLEJ 1845-46, for Moodkee 1845, 2 clasps, Ferozeshuhur, Sobraon (Lieut. W. E. Mulcaster, 64th Regt. N.I.)
- (c) PUNJAB 1848-49, 1 clasp, Mooltan (Capt. W. E. Mulcaster, 7th Irregular Cavy.)
- (d) INDIA GENERAL SERVICE 1854-94, 2 clasps, North West Frontier, Bhootan (Bt. Lt. Col. W. E. Mulcaster, 5th Bengal Cavy.) all fitted with silver ribbon buckles, *very fine or better* (4) £2500-3000

William Edward Mulcaster was born on 29 September 1820. He was the eldest son of Captain Sir William Howe Mulcaster, R.N., and Sophia, the eighth daughter of Colonel Philip Van Cortlandt. He was nominated for his Cadetship by H. St. G. Tucker, Esq., on the recommendation of his father. He entered Addiscombe in 1835, and the following year, received an immediate posting to the Bengal Infantry. He did duty with the 9th N.I. at Barrackpore, and the 15th N.I. and the 28th N.I., before reporting to the 64th N.I. In July 1840, he was attached to the Assam Sebundy Corps, then a highly irregular unit, which ultimately evolved into the 2/8th Gurkha Rifles. The next year he rejoined his regiment and proceeded with it to Afghanistan. He was severely wounded at the forcing of the Khyber Pass in April 1842 (*London Gazette* 7 June 1842) on account of which he afterwards received a gratuity of twelve months pay. He returned to duty, in February 1843, as Adjutant of his corps. During the Sutlej campaign, Mulcaster was present at the battles of Moodkee and Ferozeshuhur in December 1845, and at Sobraon in February 1846. In October 1846, he was posted Adjutant and officiating 2nd in command of the 9th Irregular Cavalry (Christie's Horse) in the absence of Lieutenant Crawford Chamberlain (qv) who was then on leave in the Cape.

Following the murders of Vans Agnew and Anderson at Mooltan in April 1848, Mulcaster, then serving with the 7th Bengal Irregular Cavalry joined the scratch force under Lieutenant Herbert Edwardes which temporarily confined the Sikh revolt to the south west Punjab. In July, he joined the force under General W.S. Whish which had been despatched from Lahore to invest Mooltan. But at length Whish was obliged to abandon the siege and pitch camp astride the dry Wadi Mohammed Canal in the neighbouring country. In early November, the Mooltanis established two batteries on the eastern side of the canal at an uncomfortably close range to the two parts of the British camp. Whish constructed counter batteries to deal with them, and laid plans for an assault to be carried out on the 7th by his European troops against the Mooltanis' left flank. On the evening of the 6th, Mulcaster, together with a picquet drawn from his regiment, and two allied Sikh regiments were sent to relieve the British troops protecting the batteries thus freeing them for the assault. However, during the night the allied Sikhs deserted to the enemy, leaving the task of guarding the guns, which were attacked next day, to Mulcaster. As the senior officer present in command of the 7th Cavalry in the trenches he was credited with repulsing the enemy's assaults and driving them back. For his services during the siege of Mooltan, he was rewarded with a Brevet Majority (*London Gazette* 2 August 1850).

In January 1852, he was appointed to the command of the 7th Irregular Cavalry and was subsequently employed with one squadron, in November 1853, in a punitive expedition, under Colonel S. B. Boileau, against the Bori Afridis. The 7th Bengal Irregular Cavalry remained loyal during the Mutiny, and emerged from the reorganization of the Army in 1861 as the 5th Bengal Cavalry. In April 1858, Mulcaster commanded the Cavalry Brigade employed in the field force, under Sir Sydney Cotton (see Lot 41), which marched into the Yusafzai Valley and destroyed Siltana.

He was promoted Lieutenant-Colonel in 1863 and the next year was appointed Brigadier-General in Assam. In December 1864, in response to continual raiding into British territory by the Bhootanis and insults to a British mission under the Hon. Ashley Eden, Mulcaster was appointed to the command of the Bhootan Field Force of four columns, which was sent into the mountainous territory on the borders of Tibet. The four columns advanced and overcame the slight resistance from the Bhootanis armed with matchlocks, bows and arrows, stones and other primitive weapons. But, with the end of the campaign apparently in sight, the Bhootanis attacked the British garrison at Dewangiri in February 1865, forcing the troops under Colonel Campbell to evacuate the post. The retreat over difficult terrain became a rout. The native troops panicked, the wounded and sick were left behind and force's two guns were abandoned and thrown into a ravine. Elsewhere overwhelming numbers of Bhootanis inflicted defeats on Mulcaster's widely spread command, and this coupled with news of the reverse at Dewangiri, prompted the authorities at Calcutta to withdraw the expedition, and ultimately despatch a second Bhootan Field Force under Brigadier-General Sir Harry Tombs V.C., K.C.B.

Mulcaster was advanced to Major-General in 1866 and, in 1867, he relinquished his final appointment, the command of the Agra Brigade. He was made General in 1877, and was placed on the supernumerary list in 1881. General Mulcaster died at 3 Portland Place, Bath, on 4 February 1887.

Refs: Hodson Index (NAM); Modern English Biography (Boase); IOL L/MIL/10/38; IOL L/MIL/10/75; IOL L/MIL/10/31.



The rare gold Albert Medal group of five awarded to Mr A. T. Shuttleworth, Deputy Conservator of Forests (Bombay District) late Indian Navy

(a) ALBERT MEDAL, 1st Class, for Gallantry in Saving Life at Sea, gold and enamel, the reverse officially numbered 'No. 14' and inscribed (Presented in the name of Her Majesty to A. T. Shuttleworth. Wrecks of the "Berwickshire" "Die Vernon" and "Terzah" 1866 and 1867) the reverse of the crown with maker's cartouche 'Phillips Cockspur S', fitted with silver-gilt ribbon buckle

(b) INDIA GENERAL SERVICE 1854-94, 1 clasp, Persia (A. T. Shuttleworth, Captns. Clk. Ferooz S.F.) fitted with silver ribbon buckle

(c) SHIPWRECKED FISHERMEN AND MARINERS ROYAL BENEVOLENT SOCIETY, gold (Allen Shuttleworth, Esqr. 1867) fitted with silver-gilt ribbon buckle

(d) LLOYD'S MEDAL FOR SAVING LIFE AT SEA, 1st large type glazed silver medallion, 73mm (Allen Thornton Shuttleworth Esq. late Indian Navy. 25th September 1867) lacking reverse lunette

(e) ROYAL HUMANE SOCIETY, large bronze medal (Successful), (Mr A. T. Shuttleworth, 1 August 1866) fitted with bronze ribbon buckle, generally good very fine (5)

£12000-15000



Allen Thornton Shuttleworth, the son of Digby Edward Shuttleworth, Indigo Planter, was born in the Meerpore district of Pubna on 21 October 1839. He was educated under Mr J. Whitely at Woolwich Common and was nominated for the post of Captain's Clerk in the Indian Navy by Captain John Shepherd on the recommendation of his uncle. Shuttleworth was admitted into the Indian Navy on 12 December 1855, and having taken the oath 'to be true and faithful to the said Company, and faithfully and truly execute and discharge the trust reposed in me, to the utmost of my skill and power. So Help me God', he left Gravesend on the *Cairngorm* on the 24th. In a letter dated '31 December off the Isle of Wight', the captain of the *Cairngorm* reported that they had commenced their voyage to Bombay. Shuttleworth landed after a four month voyage on 21 April 1856, and was appointed Captain's Clerk on the 8-gun H.E.I. Company's Steam Frigate *Ferooz*. He was then one of twenty-four Captain's Clerks in the Service and was paid Rs. 50 per month, which if he attained the rank of Captain in 30 to 35 years time could be expected to rise to Rs. 600-800 per month.

During the build up to war with Persia in 1856, Commander Rennie of the *Ferooz* was ordered to sail to Bushire with despatches for the Political Resident. The *Ferooz* left on 19 September 1856, but on reaching the Persian coast, Commander Rennie was advised to abandon his mission on account of 'the excited state of the population'. Despite the warning, Rennie resolved to deliver his despatches on shore. C. R. Low, the author of the *History of the Indian Navy*, who was then a shipmate and contemporary of Shuttleworth's, later recalled, 'We remember, being then a Midshipman on board the *Ferooz*, how this judicious, as well as gallant, officer [Commander Rennie], who had 'an eye to business' whenever any fighting was on the tapis, took advantage of this last opportunity of reconnoitring Bushire, to take careful soundings both in going ashore and returning, to be of use in eventualities.' Having returned to Bombay the *Ferooz* sailed again for Bushire in late November, this time towing two transports containing men of Major-General Stalker's division. In the absence of any response to the British ultimatum demanding the Persian withdrawal from Herat, war was declared. The Union flag was hoisted at Kharrack for the first time in sixteen years and a Royal salute fired from the guns of the *Ferooz*. Offensive operations began in November with the capture of Bushire. Troops were landed at Hallilah Bay under covering fire from eight gun boats, and proceeded to storm fort of Reshire. That night Commander Rennie sent a boat with muffled oars to buoy a fourteen-foot channel off the batteries which next day enabled the *Ferooz* to take up a position 300 yards closer in shore than the other vessels. In the ensuing action the *Ferooz* was engaged in a duel with the Persian shore batteries until they were silenced and a breach effected in Bushire's walls, whereupon the enemy flagstaff was hauled down and the garrison surrendered. The *Ferooz* then returned to Bombay while Lieutenant-General Sir James Outram led the expeditionary force in land and defeated the Persians at the battle of Khoosh-Ab.

Again returning to the Persian Gulf, the *Ferooz* was next involved in silencing the heavily fortified position at Mohammerah, on the junction of the Karoon and Shatt-ul-Arab, where a Persian Army, thirteen thousand strong, had assembled under the Shahzada. Batteries had been erected of solid earth, twenty feet thick, eighteen feet high, armed with heavy ordnance placed to sweep the entire river at the junction of the Karoon with the Shatt-ul-Arab. An attempt to place a mortar battery on an island failed when the island turned out to be a swamp, but the ingenious Commander Rennie, in defiance of the engineers who said the first shot would smash it, constructed a raft of casks and studding-sail booms, which, armed with two 8-inch and two 5-inch mortars manned by the Bombay Artillery, was towed into position opposite the forts. The ships of war were given the first task of silencing the batteries, which they accomplished at point blank range under heavy fire, then landed parties of seamen to storm the southern and northern forts. To quote General Havelock 'the gentlemen in blue had it all to themselves, and left us naught to do'. The British loss was only ten killed and thirty wounded, owing largely to Rennie's 'happy thought' of placing trusses in the sides of the *Ferooz*, from which vast numbers of bullets were shaken out. The bold step of closing at point blank range also took them under the elevation of the Persian guns.

Shuttleworth was not actively engaged in the Mutiny, but served in supporting naval operations in the 1800-ton H.E.I.C. Steam Frigate *Assaye* as Assistant Paymaster. Promoted Paymaster and transferred to the 300-ton Steam-gun boat *Clyde* in which he served the last three years of his career in the Indian Navy, Shuttleworth next took part in operations against the piratical Waghurs, who, having seized the island fort of Beyt and the fort of Dwarka, were levying large imposts from the pilgrims who came to worship at the great temple dedicated to Krishna. An expedition was mounted including H.M.'s 28th Foot, 6th N.I. and a Marine Battalion, accompanied by the *Ferooz*, *Zenobia*, *Berenice*, *Victoria*, *Clyde*, *Constance* and the *Lady Falkland*.

On 5 and 6 October, the fort at Beyt, with earthwork walls 18-40 feet thick and 30-40 feet high, and lofty, massive towers with guns, was under continual bombardment from the naval ships. Troops were landed in an attempt to storm the fort, with boats' crews and field pieces in support, but failed in the face of heavy fire from the defenders. The Waghurs, however, evacuated the fort soon after dark and it was occupied the next day. To launch the attack on Dwarka, the force then moved to Roopon Bunder, two miles up the coast to the only place where the surf permitted a landing. The beach, however, was covered by the guns of an imposing fort. On the 19th, the *Clyde*, towing a naval landing party in cutters from the *Ferooz*, *Zenobia* and *Berenice*, opened a bombardment, and successfully put the sailors ashore. Much to the surprise of the Colonel commanding the field force, who said he 'would not have attempted a landing with less than a thousand men', they took the fort by storm. On the 26th a Naval Brigade, supported by guns, was landed to storm the fort at Dwarka. The Waghurs attacked them during the night but were beaten off with great loss. The following morning the Waghurs abandoned the fort and cut their way out through piquets of the 28th Foot.

Officers and men engaged in the Waghur operations received war *batta*, and a commendation from the Governor General in Council and the Secretary of State for India: 'I am desirous to request you will be pleased to express to the officers and men who served in the Okhamundel Expedition, the high sense which his Lordship in Council entertains of the gallantry and zeal exhibited by all, and especially by the Naval Brigade, in the operations against Beyt and Dwarka.'

In the reorganisation of Indian affairs after the Mutiny, the Indian Navy amid much acrimony was abolished in August 1863, and responsibility for the defence of India against attack by sea passed to the Royal Navy. Shuttleworth was awarded a service pension and was accordingly 'axed'. Three months later however he secured an appointment in the Indian Forestry Service in the Bombay Residency as Assistant Conservator of Forests, Belgaum and Dharwar. He soon proved successful in his new career and was promoted to Deputy Conservator for Kolaba and Suvarndurg in May 1865 and was transferred to Bombay. It was during this period in the mid to late 1860's that Shuttleworth carried out an incredible number of life-saving achievements, possibly unique in the history of life-saving.

The coast off Alibagh, across the harbour from the main Bombay island, was clearly most treacherous to shipping coming into Bombay port. Drawing on his Indian Navy experience, Shuttleworth built two lifeboats and trained foresters and local *kollee* fishermen to man them. With the help of his crew and, on several occasions with the assistance of the local District Magistrate, Mr Elphinston, Shuttleworth risked life and limb in saving hundreds of lives from at least eight different wrecks and by warning other vessels in danger of running aground. His most daring and notable rescues were perhaps those of officers and men from the *Berwickshire*, the *Die Vernon* and *Terzat*, in respect of which he was awarded the Board of Trade's highest award, the Albert Medal of the First Class (*London Gazette* 21 December 1867).

On 22 July 1866 he went in 'a fisherman's canoe' to the assistance of the *Berwickshire* which had struck the Chawool Kadoo Reef, and 'after two days exertions succeeded in landing six men in one of the ship's boats. Mr Shuttleworth again proceeded to the ship with the fishermen in another boat in so dangerous a sea that some of the *Berwickshire*'s seamen who had landed and the coolies of Colaba to whom a large reward was offered declined to take a message to her. After rowing for three hours the boat having twice filled to the thwarts he reached the vessel and informed the captain of her true position and remained on board to give assistance.' 'On the 1st August the *Die Vernon* ran on the Chawool Kadoo Reef near Alibagh. Mr. Shuttleworth put off in a boat with ten native fishermen and by his coolness was the means of averting greater loss of life than that which unhappily took place. The boat was dashed against the vessel's side and capsized throwing all her crew into the water and while endeavouring to save some of these Mr Shuttleworth was washed overboard. He however regained the vessel and was for two hours lashed to the mizzen rigging. He refused to forsake the captain and carpenter who were helpless and eventually succeeded in saving the captain. The carpenter was washed away and drowned.'

On 18 July 1867, he was called out again, this time to the wreck of the *Terzat* sailing from Newcastle, New South Wales, to Bombay, which was driven on to Kennerly Island during a heavy gale. 'Mr Shuttleworth put off in a life boat manned by fishermen and succeeded in bringing off the captain and thirteen men out of a crew of thirty one. Eight others came on shore on pieces of the wreck. This service was rendered by Mr Shuttleworth and his crew at great peril of their lives. The sea was breaking very heavily all round the ship and washing over her.' In recognition of his rescue of the captains and crewmen from the *Die Vernon* and *Terzat*, Shuttleworth was also awarded, on 25 September 1867, Lloyd's Medal for Saving Life at Sea in Silver, and his fishermen were granted a reward of £25. Additionally he also gained the Shipwrecked Fishermen and Mariners Royal Benevolent Society's Gold Medal.

The *Bombay Gazette* commented that Shuttleworth's conduct on these occasions was 'an example of spirit which should and which does animate Europeans in India, and especially servants of the Government, not only in moments of great public emergency but at all times. It is the spirit which is ready to sacrifice self - in extreme cases like this, life - and which by force of character can raise the natives of this land towards the same level of fortitude and daring ... But in this case we are commenting on the higher motive - that of saving life - raises the action to one of the highest categories of nobleness. It is an example of the genuine old virtues, displayed in obedience to the sense of duty which is the salt in the lives of men and in the existence of empires.'

Shuttleworth moved progressively upwards through the Forestry Department and by early 1884 when he went on leave to officiate as a juror at the International Exhibition of Forestry at Edinburgh, he was classified 1st Grade (new scale). He returned to India from privilege leave in 1890 to become 1st Grade Conservator of Forests, Northern Circle, on 1 April 1892 before moving to the Central Circle with his headquarters at Poona. In 1895, he was appointed Additional Member of the Council of His Excellency the Governor General for making Laws and Regulations, and was deputed on Special Famine Duty under the orders of the Revenue Department from November 1896 to June 1897. During the famine he rendered conspicuous service in the direction and superintending of operations for the supply of fodder and grass, and for the saving of cattle in Western India. 'The results achieved' recorded the *Advocate of India*, 'were of the highest importance, both as regards the decrease in mortality of cattle during the famine, and the lessons learned in what was practically a new field which must be invaluable in all future famines ... he brought a new art to grapple with famines.' Shuttleworth retired in April 1899 after nearly 40 years distinguished service, a fact which was echoed by the *Deccan Herald* which declared that in his time he had 'rendered the Government of this country and a large proportion of its inhabitants, services which for variety and extent of usefulness have perhaps seldom been surpassed.'

Shuttleworth settled at Stonar House, Sandwich, Kent, but moved to Walmer in 1910. He died on 4 January 1915, having had a sudden 'heart seizure' on Walmer station. A medical officer belonging to the Royal Naval Division who happened to be present tried to revive him, but his death was apparently instantaneous. He left five sons all of whom were commissioned in the British or Indian Armies.

Refs: L/MAR/C713; IOL&R N/1/53; PRO - BT 97/1; PRO - BT 97/2; PRO 15642; IOL&R; Indian Navy List; History of the Indian Navy (Low); India Office List, 1902; The Times; Deal, Walmer & Sandwich Mercury.



The exceptional Naga Hills 1875 Order of Merit and 7-clasp I.G.S. pair awarded to Subadar Heema Chund, 44th Gurkha Regiment of Bengal Infantry, who was killed in action at Manipur in March 1891

(a) ORDER OF MERIT, 3rd Class, the plain reverse officially inscribed on three lines '3rd Class "Order of Merit"', complete with silver ribbon buckle

(b) INDIA GENERAL SERVICE 1854-94, 7 clasps, Bhootan, Looshai, Naga 1879-80, Burma 1885-87, Burma 1887-89, Chin-Lushai 1889-90, N.E. Frontier 1891 (Sepoy Heema Chund, 44th Regt. N.I.) the pair mounted from a twin-brooch silver buckle, central enamel chipped on the first, otherwise very fine and exceptionally rare (2)

£6000-8000

Heema Chund joined the 44th (Sylhet) Regiment of Native Infantry on 14 April 1859, and first saw active service in the operations of 1862-63 in the Khasiah Jantia Hills where he was wounded. He served in the punitive expedition against the Bhootanis in 1864-66, and, in 1871-72, was employed with his regiment in the expedition against the Looshais following the abduction of the tea-planter's daughter, Mary Winchester. After many skirmishes and the capture of several villages, the Looshais capitulated after a campaign of ten weeks and the girl was released. He next participated in the Duffla Expedition of 1874-75.

By February 1875 Heema Chund had attained the rank of Havildar and was stationed at Dibrugarh. At 9 a.m. on the morning of the 16th of that month, word reached Colonel J. M. Nuttall, commanding the 44th, of a treacherous attack on a survey party under Lieutenant Holcombe in the Naga Hills in which eighty men had been killed and fifty wounded, 'the bulk being defenceless coolies'. By noon Nuttall had Heema Chund and every other available man under arms and marching up to the Naga frontier. 'On the 23rd', records the History of the 8th Gurkha Rifles, the lineal descendant of the three old Assam regiments the 42nd, 43rd and 44th, 'parties of the 42nd and 44th were placed under his orders. The expedition, after a most difficult progress, made worse by rivers swollen by the recent rains, was completely successful. All villages implicated in the outrage were destroyed, and nearly all arms and plunder taken from the Survey Party recovered'. Nuttall and all ranks involved subsequently received the thanks of the Government, while in addition, Havildar Heema Chund, a Naik and two Sepoys received the Indian Order of Merit, 3rd Class (CGO 1133 of 12 November 1875).

On 18 February 1877 he was commissioned Jemadar, and on 7 August 1879 promoted Subadar. He returned to the Naga Hills in December of the latter year with expedition, under Brigadier-General J. L. Nation, which drove the Nagas out of their stronghold at Konoma after desperate fighting in which Captain R. K. Ridgeway (see Lot 90), the Adjutant of the 44th Gurkhas, won the Victoria Cross. The Nagas fell back on the Chaka Forts, but agreed to surrender in March 1880. Subadar Heema Chund next served in the Burma campaign of 1885-87, and was further engaged in that country against bandits in 1887-89, and during the campaign against the Chin and Lushai tribes in 1889-90.

He gained his seventh clasp posthumously, for service in Manipur, a small state between Assam and Burma on the North East Frontier in 1891, when it became necessary to settle the dispute between the eight sons of the late ruler and support the recognised heir. The Manipuris had assisted the Indian Government against the Burmese, and in 1887 a present was made to the Rajah of some hundreds of rifles, a supply of cartridges, and two 7-pounder field-pieces with a quantity of shell and case shot. These were the arms and munitions of war that were used with deadly effect against our troops in the revolt of 1891. A disputed succession and a palace revolution that had substituted one rajah for another had caused the Indian Government some anxiety. The dispossessed Rajah was intriguing for reinstatement, and the Indian Government, on the report of Mr. Grimwood, the local Resident, decided that the centre of agitation and trouble at the Manipur Court was a prince known as the Senapati, literally the "Lord of the Army", and determined that he should be arrested and removed from the state.

Mr. Quinton, the Chief Commissioner of Assam, was ordered to proceed to Manipur, hold a durbar, and arrest the Senapati. He took with him an escort of 400 Goorkhas, consisting of 200 men of the 44th under Captain Boileau and Lieutenant Brackenbury, and 200 men of the 42nd under Colonel Skene, Lieutenants Lugard and Chatterton and Surgeon Calvert. There was already a guard of a hundred Goorkhas of the 42nd, under Lieutenant Simpson, stationed at Manipur as an escort for Mr. Grimwood. Quinton reached Manipur early on the morning of March 22nd, and summoned a durbar for the same afternoon. The durbar met, but the Senapati, who evidently had some information of what was intended, refused to leave the palace and meet the Commissioner. The durbar was adjourned till next day. Meanwhile, Grimwood saw the Rajah and endeavoured to impress upon him the importance of his minister attending the durbar, warning him that his absence would be a dangerous defiance of the Government's authority. But on the 23rd the Senapati was still contumacious, and it was resolved to effect his arrest by force.

Accordingly at dawn on the 24th Colonel Skene, of the Goorkhas, entered the palace at the head of 250 of his men. But the Manipuris had prepared for resistance. The palace was swarming with men (6,000 in all, it was said), two guns were in position to sweep the approach inside the main gate, and, as the Goorkhas entered, hundreds of rifles opened on them from roofs, windows, and loopholed walls. An attempt was made to rush the guns. It failed and Lieutenant Brackenbury, who led it, was literally riddled with bullets, and his Subadar, Heema Chund, and Havildar killed. In addition, a Jemadar, a Havildar and seven Sepoys were wounded, and Brackenbury's wound eventually proved mortal.

The day was over for the gallant Subadar Heema Chund, but Skene persisted in his attempt to take possession of the palace. The fighting continued for some hours and about noon the Manipuris used their superiority in numbers to make a determined attack on the Residency. Colonel Skene then felt that he could no longer keep his small force divided between the Residency and the palace, and, carrying his wounded with him (among them poor young Brackenbury), he withdrew his men to the former building. The Manipur men came swarming after them, and the Residency buildings which were badly fitted for defence, were soon closely besieged. Heavy rifle firing went on till evening, many of the garrison being killed and wounded. The guns were dragged down from the palace, and the Residency was bombarded at close range. One shell burst in the stable and killed all the horses. Others exploded in the upper rooms, and it was only by great efforts that the place was kept from taking fire. At 7 o'clock Colonel Skene, after a consultation with his colleagues, decided to try what negotiation would do. The bugles sounded the "Cease fire," and, after some delay, the Manipuris stopped firing; and Mr. Quinton, his secretary, Mr. Cossins, the Resident, Mr. Grimwood, and Colonel Skene and Lieutenant Simpson, of the Goorkhas, came out to meet the Rajah and his chiefs. They had no sooner left their own lines when they were treacherously attacked and seized before they could attempt either flight or resistance.

A force was at once assembled on the northern border of Burma for the recapture of Manipur and the rescue of the prisoners. It was commanded by General Graham, and made up of four companies of the K.R.R.C., a Gurkha battalion, a battalion of Madras Infantry, and a British Mountain battery. On 26th April, Graham's three columns met near Manipur and entered the city which had been deserted by the rebel princes and their followers. "The aspect of the place was extraordinary," wrote Reuter's correspondent with the force. "Scarcely a human being was to be seen. The whole of the capital was wrapped in silence. As the troops marched into the midst of the cluster of houses, they encountered no foe, for there was not a fighting man within the walls. It was a deserted city. Moving on wearily, the British force entered the enclosures of the palace of the Maharajah. Here also was absolute stillness. The magazine had been blown up and the inside of the palace was a wreck. It had been sacked from end to end and hardly a thing of value remained in it. One discovery, which, though not unexpected, and sent a thrill of horror through all ranks, was made. Within the palace enclosure were found the heads of the British officials and officers who had fallen a prey to the treachery of the rulers of Manipur."

Refs: Manipur, compiled from the columns of the Pioneer (Allahabad 1891); History of the 8th Gurkha Rifles 1824-1949 (Huxford); Bengal Army List 1884.



The campaign pair to Colonel R. K. Ridgeway, V.C., C.B., 44th Gurkha Regiment of Bengal Infantry, awarded the Victoria Cross for gallantry at Konoma in the Naga Hills when he was severely wounded

(a) INDIA GENERAL SERVICE 1854-94, 2 clasps, Naga 1879-80, N.E. Frontier 1891 (Capt. R. K. Ridgeway, 44th Bengal N.I.)

(b) INDIA GENERAL SERVICE 1895-1902, 3 clasps, Punjab Frontier 1897-98, Samana 1897, Tirah 1897-98 (Lt. Coll. R. K. Ridgeway, V.C. I.S.C.) official correction to 'V.C.', good very fine (2) £6000-8000

This pair is from the collection of Colonel R. B. Jay, who died on 23 June 1964, and who was the author of *Men whose Fathers were Men*, published under the pseudonym "Centurion". His collection was for many years held at Norwich Castle until disposed of by auction some 20 years ago. The whereabouts of the Victoria Cross itself is not known.

Richard Kirby Ridgeway, the second son of R. Ridgeway, Esq., F.R.C.S., and Annette, daughter of R. Adams, Esq., of Cavanagh, County Cavan, was gazetted from Sandhurst to H.M.'s 96th Regiment as Ensign on 8 January 1868. He became Lieutenant on 14 February 1870 and was transferred to the Bengal Staff Corps in 1872. Appointed to the 44th (Sylhet) Regiment of Native Infantry, he served as Adjutant from 1874 to 1880, and in February 1875 took part in the punitive expedition to Ninu after the attack by Naga tribesmen on Lieutenant Holcombe's survey party (mentioned in despatches).

On 14 October 1879 the Nagas again carried out an unprovoked attack this time on the Local Commissioner, Mr Damant, who was killed together with Jemadar Prem Singh and ten Sepoys of the 43rd Gurkhas. An expedition was mounted to restore order in Naga territory; the force comprising a small party of the 34th N.I., a detachment of 300 Gurkhas of the 43rd N.I. and the whole of the 44th N.I., under Colonel Nuttall, with two 7-pounder mountain guns. The Field Force was commanded by Brigadier-General J. L. Nation, and, having taken to the field, a detachment of the 43rd attacked and secured the village of Sephima on 15 November. On 21 November the Field Force prepared to attack the fortified Naga village of Konoma on the following day.

'This village, which bore the finest fighting reputation throughout the Naga hills, was situated on a sort of rocky island in a valley, and was strongly fortified in terraces, with stone walls and towers. The attack was made by 500 rifles, three-fourths being 44th, with their two 7-pounder guns, and one fourth 43rd, together with 26 Frontier Police. The stoutness of the defence created surprise. True, it was probable that several thousand men were behind the walls and stockades of Konoma, and that half of them were equipped with firearms, including many Sniders and Enfields, but such preparations, and such stubborn resistance, were a new feature in Naga warfare. The village was first shelled by the two guns, but without effect on the fortifications, so Colonel Nuttall decided to storm the place. The outlying fortifications were soon taken, but then the attackers found themselves faced by the inner lines, a stone-faced scarp, surmounted by a loopholed stockade, the whole about twelve feet high. The guns were brought up to within seventy yards, and the gateway was more or less shattered. Two assaults on the stockade were made; these were led with the greatest gallantry by Lieutenant R. K. Ridgeway, Adjutant of the 44th, who was severely wounded as he reached the gateway, where he heroically remained until the men were able to force an entrance.'

The 44th's assault, which cost the lives of Major C. H. Cock, D.A.A.C., Lieutenant H. H. Forbes, 44th, Subadar-Major Narbir Sahi, 44th, and seventeen men, came to a standstill at nightfall. The artillery detachment had used all its ammunition during the day-long fight and although the force prepared for another major assault on the following day, the Nagas evacuated Konoma during the night, retreating to entrenched positions in the Chaka mountains. After further operations the Nagas sued for peace in March 1880. Ridgeway in the meantime was evacuated and returned to Europe on furlough. On 8 January 1880 he was promoted Captain and on 11 May 1880 was gazetted with the Victoria Cross for gallantry at Konoma. Ridgeway was prevented from attending an investiture due to his wounds, and his Cross was sent to him in Ireland by the War Office on 2 June 1880.



Having passed the staff college in 1883, he was appointed D.A.Q.M.G., Bengal Army, in August 1884, and the next year was appointed to the Boundary Commission in north west Afghanistan. On 23 May 1885 the *Illustrated London News* declared: 'Portraits of two officers of the Bengal Staff Corps, Assistant Commissioners of the British-Afghan Boundary Commission, who are still acting in that capacity on the northwest border of Afghanistan, find place in this number of our Journal. Lieutenant-Colonel R. K. Ridgeway, V.C., commanded the party which came from India towards the end of last year, with the engineers and scientific gentlemen of the survey, escorted by a detachment of Punjaub Native Infantry and Bengal Cavalry, performing a circuitous march of 745 miles from Rindli, on the Quetta railway, along the edge of the desert south of Candahar, and thence northward to the Heri-Kud valley, so as to avoid the towns and villages of the Ameer's dominions. Colonel Ridgeway met Sir Peter Lumsden at Kushan, 60 or 70 miles west of Herat on 22 October and subsequently proceeded to Bala Murghab eastward by the route through Khushk and Kila Nau, rejoining the Chief Commissioner's [Colonel West Ridgeway's] headquarters at Bala Murghab in December.'

Promoted Major in 1888, he served as A.Q.M.G., at Army Headquarters, India, in 1889-90, and in 1891 returned to command his regiment, re-styled in 1889 the 44th (Gurkha) Regiment of Bengal (Light) Infantry. During Ridgeway's tenure of command, lasting until 1895, the corps was again re-titled to become the 44th Gurkha (Rifle) Regiment of Bengal Infantry in 1891. He took part in the Manipur expedition of 1891 (mentioned in despatches), and was promoted Lieutenant-Colonel in 1894. He returned to his earlier post of A.Q.M.G. in 1895, and was promoted Colonel in 1898. He served in the Tirah campaign as A.A.G., 2nd Division in 1897, and was A.A.G., Peshawar, 1898-1900. Colonel Ridgeway was created a C.B. in 1905 and retired in 1906. He attended the Garden Party for Victoria Cross recipients at Buckingham Palace in 1920, and died at Harrogate on 11 October 1924.

Refs: Lummis Files (NAM); History of the 8th Gurkha Rifles 1824-1949; The Victoria Cross (Creagh); The Indian Army of the Empress (Harfield).



The fine K.C.B. group to Lieutenant-General Sir Alexander George Ross, 1st Sikh Infantry

- (a) THE MOST HONOURABLE ORDER OF THE BATH (Military) K.C.B., Knight Commander's set of insignia, comprising neck badge, silver-gilt and enamels, hallmarked London 1897, and breast star, silver, gilt and enamels
- (b) INDIAN MUTINY 1857-59, no clasp (Ensn. A. G. Ross, 35th Regt.)
- (c) ABYSSINIA 1867 (Lieut. A. G. Ross, 1st Sikh Infy.)
- (d) INDIA GENERAL SERVICE 1854-94, 1 clasp, Jowaki 1877-8 (Major A. G. Ross, 1st Sikh Infantry)
- (e) AFGHANISTAN 1878-80, 1 clasp, Ali Musjid (Maj. A. G. Ross, 1st Sikh Inf.) very fine or better (6) £3000-3500

Alexander George Ross, the eldest son of George Ross, Indian Civil Service, and Isabella, daughter of Justin McCartie of Carrignavar, County Cork, was born at Meerut on 9 January 1840. He was educated at the Academy, Institute and University of Edinburgh, and was commissioned Ensign in the Bengal Army on 4 November 1857. Intended for the 17th Native Infantry which mutinied on 3 June at Azimgahr, he was detained 'at Barracks in Calcutta' until February 1858, when he was attached to H.M.'s 37th Regiment. In March he was attached to H.M.'s 35th Regiment and was employed with them in the attack on Arrah. He afterwards served with the 79th Highlanders in the Oudh Campaign and took part in numerous actions including the capture of Fort Rampore Kussia and the passage of the Gogra at Fyzabad.

Promoted Lieutenant on 13 December 1859, while doing duty with the Agra Levy, he joined the Bengal Staff Corps on its formation in 1861 and was gazetted to the 1st Sikh Infantry, Punjab Frontier Force. In 1867 he was appointed to raise, equip and command a mule transport train at Lahore for field service in Abyssinia. Accompanying the train to Annesley Bay below Massowah in January 1868, he participated in the three hundred mile march to Arrogie, and took part in the successful action at that place. The Abyssinian capital of Magdala was reached soon after and razed to the ground on 17 April. King Theodore of Abyssinia committed suicide, and Ross was mentioned in despatches.

Ross was advanced to the rank of Captain in November 1869 and served as Wing Officer, 1st Sikhs, until 1875. Appointed Officiating Commandant in May 1877 and promoted Major and on 4 November of that year, he took part in the expedition to suppress the Jowaki Afridis, who, having occupied the territory between Peshawar and the Kohat Pass, continually preyed on the neighbouring tribes. The expedition was divided into two columns - the Kohat, and the Peshawar. The 1st Sikhs were employed with the main force, the Kohat Column, which, under Brigadier C. P. Keyes, attacked and captured Jummo, the principal stronghold of the Jowaki Afridis on 1 December 1877. On 23 and 24 January 1878 the Jowaki tribesmen sued for peace and the expeditionary force withdrew after a campaign of ten weeks. Ross was again mentioned in despatches.

Shortly before the start of the Second Afghan War, the 1st Sikhs under Ross's command marched from Kohat to Peshawar on 3 October 1878, and on 9 November was placed on the strength of Lieutenant-General Sir Sam Browne's Peshawar Valley Field Force, being brigaded with the 1/17th (Leicestershire) Regiment and the Guides Infantry in the 2nd Brigade, 1st Division. The Peshawar Valley F.F. moved into the Khyber Pass on the evening of the 20 November, with the 1st Sikhs and Guides making a flanking march via Lashura and Sapri to the hills above Kata Kushtia, where they arrived on the 21st in time to open fire on the Afghan cavalry retreating from Ali Musjid. Next day the 1st Sikhs were present at the surrender of a portion of the Afghan infantry. For his part in the occupation of the hill fort of Ali Musjid, Ross received another mention in despatches.

Ross's regiment next garrisoned the fort of Daka till 12 December, and then moved to Jellalabad via Basawal. Remaining at Jellalabad with other units of the 1st Division from 20 December until shortly after the signing of the Treaty of Gandamak on 30 May 1879, the regiment provided detachments to take part in several expeditions. In February 1878 Ross commanded a detachment of 250 men on Brigadier-General Jenkins's expedition into the Lughman territory. Sirdar Azmatallah Khan of Lughman still refused to tender his submission and had incarcerated two brothers of the native Governor of Jellalabad. It was therefore decided to enter his territory on the 22nd, 'overawe' the inhabitants and effect the release of the prisoners. The expedition consisting of the Sikhs, a troop of the 10th Hussars, a squadron of Guides Cavalry, two Mountain guns, 200 of the Rifle Brigade and 250 of the Guides Infantry, was entirely successful and returned to Jellalabad without firing a shot on the 25th.

Promoted Lieutenant-Colonel by Brevet for services in Afghanistan, Ross became full Colonel on 22 November 1879, and in 1881 took part in the Mahsud Waziri Expedition for which he was mentioned in despatches. In 1887 he was appointed a Companion of the Bath, and at the close of the year 1890 was given command of the Punjab Frontier Force Column - one of two columns under Major-General Sir George White, employed in the Zhob Valley for the purposes of exploration and the subjection of some sections of the Kidarzai Sherani tribe. Ross's column consisted the 1st and 3rd Punjab Cavalry, No.1 (Kohat) and No.7 (Bengal) Mountain Batteries, and half-battalions of the 1st and 2nd Sikhs. Operations were carried out in poor weather and over rugged terrain, but fortunately there was little enemy resistance. By 3 December all the objectives of this minor expedition, for which no medals were awarded, were achieved and the columns were disbanded and returned to their normal stations. A further mention in despatches followed for Ross.

Ross was promoted Lieutenant-General on 10 December 1897, and was transferred to the list of unemployed officers on 20 January 1899. He retired to 16 Hamilton Road, Ealing, West London, and in 1905 was created a Knight Commander of the Bath. Sir Alexander, who married Emma Walwyn, the daughter of Lieutenant-General G. E. Cowans, C.B., R.A., in 1870, died on 22 June 1910.

Refs: IOL L/MIL/10/87; IOL L/MIL/10/92; IOL L/MIL/10/93; Hart's Army List 1881; War Services of Officers 1909; Who Was Who; The Afghan Campaign of 1878-1880 (Shadbolt).



The Burma Wars C.B. group of three to Major-General R. G. Woodthorpe, Royal Engineers

(a) THE MOST HONOURABLE ORDER OF THE BATH (Military) C.B., Companion's breast badge, 18 carat gold and enamels, hallmarked London 1887, complete with swivel-ring suspension and gold ribbon buckle

(b) INDIA GENERAL SERVICE 1854-94, 3 clasps, Looshai, Burma 1885-87, Burma 1887-89 (Lieut. R. G. Woodthorpe, Rl. Engrs.) clasps sometime soldered together to facilitate mounting but last two now detached from the first and loose on ribbon

(c) AFGHANISTAN 1878-80, 2 clasps, Peiwar Kotal, Kabul (Bt. Major R. G. Woodthorpe, R.E.) light contact marks, otherwise good very fine (3) £2000-2500

Robert Gossett Woodthorpe, the second son of Captain John Woodthorpe, R.N., was born on 23 September 1844 and educated privately and at the R.M.A., Woolwich. Commissioned into the Royal Engineers, he began the usual course of instruction at Chatham in 1865 and proceeded to India in 1869, where he joined the Survey Department in 1871. In late 1871-72 he served in the Looshai Expedition, and in 1872-73 served in the Garo Hills Expedition. Following the attack on the survey party under Lieutenant Holcombe by Nagas in January 1875, he was employed on the punitive expedition under Colonel Nuttall.

On the outbreak of hostilities with Afghanistan in 1878, he was appointed Senior Survey Officer with the Kurram Valley Field Force, and served in that post throughout the first campaign, carrying out 'a route survey from the Shutargardan Pass, accompanying the expedition into the Khost Valley, and mapping the district, and being present at the skirmish of the 28th Nov., 1878, the assault and capture of Peiwar Kotal (during which his pistol stock was smashed by an Afghan bullet), and the action of Matun'.

Following a huff of indignation from the Duke of Cambridge at Horse Guards at press reports written by serving officers acting as 'special correspondents', Roberts was obliged to send the following memorandum to Colonel Allen Johnson, Military Secretary at the India Office: 'On Mr Macpherson receiving his dismissal from my camp, I gave him to understand that, in the interests of *The Standard* newspaper, I would appoint some officer in this force to carry on the duties of correspondent until such time as an accredited successor should arrive. My selection fell upon Captain Pretymann, my Aide-de-Camp.' Roberts goes on to give his reasons for appointing Pretymann, and then writes, 'Within 24 hours of my making the offer to Captain Pretymann, Mr Macpherson, on leaving the Camp, signified to me his wish that another officer, viz., Captain Woodthorpe, R.E., should take up the duties of correspondent. I immediately sent for that officer, and asked him to act: an arrangement which was more acceptable, for obvious reasons both to myself and to my Aide-de-Camp. Captain Woodthorpe then sent telegrams and letters to *The Standard*, until relieved of his duty very shortly afterwards by order of his Excellency the Commander-in-Chief. With regard to the military correspondents of other London papers, neither of the officers representing the *Times* and *Daily Telegraph* belonged to the Head Quarter Staff of the Kurram column.'

On the annexation of the Kurram Valley, and Amir Yakub Khan's arrival in Roberts' camp in May 1879, Woodthorpe had a nasty shock. Roberts, in writing to Sir Alfred Lyall at Simla with regard to possible punitive action in consequence of anti-social behaviour by local tribesmen, remarked on one particular trouble spot 'up the Kuram river', and commented, 'the Mongols who live there and the Ahmed Khel Jajis inhabiting the country between Suiya and Ali Khel have been the leaders in several attacks on our followers - only last Saturday they fired on our woodcutters, and on Woodthorpe while surveying a hill above Alikhel. The whole thing would only last 2 or 3 days and would avoid our being troubled afterwards'.

In the second campaign of the Afghan War, Woodthorpe continued as Superintendent of Surveying with the Kuram Force and rejoined Roberts at Kabul on 4 November 1879. He took part in the operations around the city in December and joined the Field Engineers' Department in order to assist in the preparations for the defence of the Sherpur Cantonment, for which service he received a mention in Roberts' despatch:

'Captain T. Holditch, R.E., Major R. G. Woodthorpe, R.E. and Captain E. Martin, all of the survey Department, having expressed a wish that their services might be utilized, I placed them at the disposal of Colonel Perkins, C.B., commanding the Royal Engineers, who testifies to the great assistance they afforded him'.

Woodthorpe afterwards accompanied Roberts into the Logar Valley, and Major-General Sir J. Ross's Ghazni Field Force which defeated the Afghans at the action of Shekabad. For services in the Afghan War, Woodthorpe was mentioned three times in despatches, and several times in reports, and received the Brevets of Major and Lieutenant-Colonel.

In 1884-85 he accompanied the Akah Expedition and received another mention in despatches. He went with the mission to Chitral and the Pamirs under General Lockhart, for which he received the thanks of the Government of India and the Secretary of State. He was awarded a C.B. for services in Burma 1886-87, and afterwards served in Intelligence at Simla, 1889-92. For the next three years he was in charge of the Boundary Surveys between Burma and Siam. Colonel Woodthorpe, who read various papers before the Royal Geographical Society, the Anthropological Society and the Society of Arts died at Calcutta on 26 May 1898.

Refs: Who Was Who; Roberts In India, The Military Papers of Field Marshal Lord Roberts, 1876-1893; The Second Afghan War (Hanna); The Afghan Campaign of 1878-1880 (Shadbolt).



The Second Afghan War medal to Private J. Swiney, 72nd Highlanders

AFGHANISTAN 1878-80, 4 clasps, Peiwar Kotal, Charasia, Kabul, Kandahar (58/B583 Pte. J. Swiney, 72nd Highrs.)
light contact marks, otherwise good very fine £450-550

Confirmed on the roll which is annotated in the margin, 'Will proceed to England this Trooping Season for transfer to the 1st Class Army Reserve'. He is also entitled to the Kabul to Kandahar Star 1880.



The Second Afghan War medal to Lieutenant C. J. R. Hearsey, 9th Lancers, killed in action in the famous charge at Killa Kazi, near Kabul

AFGHANISTAN 1878-80, 1 clasp, Kabul (Lieut. C. J. R. Hearsey, 9th Lancers) *some minor scuffs, otherwise, brilliant extremely fine*
£5000-6000



Charles John Rumball Hearsey, the son Lieutenant-General Sir John Hearsey (see Lot 12) and his second wife, Emma, daughter of Charles Rumball of Friday Hall, Woodford, Essex, was born at Sialkot on 7 February 1856. He was educated at Boulogne under the Rev. J. Brewsher, and at Ockbrook, Derbyshire, under the Rev. J. J. Shawe. 'Very like his father in appearance', he entered the Army in 1875 with an Indian Cadetship and shortly afterwards joined H.M.'s 9th (Queen's Royal) Lancers in Bengal. On the outbreak of hostilities with Afghanistan in 1878 his regiment was stationed at Sialkot, and having been warned for active service, he moved with it to Taru, near Peshawar. In March 1879 Hearsey accompanied regimental headquarters and two squadrons, under Colonel R. S. Cleland, which was employed on the line of communication in the Khyber until the signing of the peace of Gandamak. On the renewal of hostilities in September 1879 Hearsey left Rawalpindi with the main body of his regiment under Cleland to join the 2nd Division of the Kurram Valley Field Force, and caught up with General Roberts at Kabul on 4 November. In consequence of the strong enemy demonstrations around Kabul in early December by the followers of Mohammed Jan, Roberts and his staff devised a plan, involving movements by columns under Macpherson, Massy and Baker (see Lot 105), to entrap the enemy at Argundeh.

The plan was put into effect on the 11th but contrary to expectations the enemy was encountered advancing in overwhelming numbers towards the Nanachi Pass, the key to Robert's base at Sherpur. On approaching the village of Killa Kazi in the Chardeh Valley about four miles from Kabul, Roberts who had set out that morning with high hopes of watching the destruction of the enemy, found an 'extraordinary spectacle' presented to his view. 'An unbroken line extending for about two miles, and formed of not less than between 9,000 and 10,000 men, was moving rapidly towards me, all on foot save a small body of cavalry on their left flank - in fact the greater part of Mohammed Jan's army. To meet this formidable array, instead of Macpherson's and Massy's forces, which I had hoped I should find combined, there were but 4 guns, 198 of the 9th Lancers under Lieutenant-Colonel Cleland, 40 of the Bengal Lancers under Captain Philip Neville, and at some little distance [Bloomfield] Gough's troop of the 9th Lancers, who were engaged in watching the enemy's cavalry.'

Massy, hoping to warn Macpherson with the sound of firing, had already sent the four horse artillery guns into action but firing against such a vast array there was little they could do little to stem the tide, and again and again they were forced to fall back. Observing the predicament of the guns, Roberts ordered Massy to retire them and cover the movement with a cavalry charge: 'Whether the cavalry understood the urgency of the need which sent them to destruction or not, they accepted the part assigned to them with noble alacrity. Splendidly led by Colonel Cleland, a squadron of the 9th Lancers, supported by the 14th Bengal Lancers, rode straight into the seething, raging sea of armed men, whilst Gough's troop of the former regiment sought to confuse the enemy by a flank attack. Received with a terrific discharge of musketry, clouds of dust and smoke quickly hid the devoted band from the eyes of the anxious spectators: then, out of those clouds, horses were seen to come galloping back, some riderless, some with riders swaying in their saddles. Among the wounded were the gallant Cleland, his bridle arm badly sabred, a bullet in his stomach, and young I Hearsey, shot through the lungs, who fell to the ground dead, as his horse stopped short. The charge had done nothing to improve the general situation ...' The Afghans swept on and it was not until later in the day that the bodies of Hearsey and the other dead could be recovered for burial at Sherpur. Morty Durand (Ritchie 1-118), a Civilian on Robert's Staff, observed 'they were dreadfully mutilated by Afghan knives'.

Refs: The Afghan Campaign of 1878-1880 (Shadbolt); The Hearseys, Five Generations of an Anglo-Indian Family (Pearse); Forty-One Years in India (Roberts); The Second Afghan War, Vol.III (Hanna).



The Maiwand D.C.M. awarded to Battery Sergeant-Major William Paton, "E" Battery, "B" Brigade, Royal Horse Artillery

DISTINGUISHED CONDUCT MEDAL, V.R. (4198 By. Sgt. Maj. W. Paton, R.H.A.) edge bruised and contact marks, otherwise better than very fine £3000-3500

D.C.M. recommendation submitted to the Queen on 5 March 1881, an award for the battle of Maiwand, 27 July 1880, and retreat to Kandahar, 27-28 July 1880.

For three hours E/B, with the Bombay Grenadiers moving up on its left and Jacob's Rifles on its right, banged away firing 120 rounds from each gun as the Afghan horde began to envelope Burrows's front which now curved round in a salient with the Grenadiers at the apex. At about 2 p.m., the roar of battle died down to an ominous rumble as Ayub prepared to launch a general advance. From a nullah opposite Jacob's Rifles and the 66th Foot on the British right, wave upon wave of wheeling, circling, cavorting tribesmen rose up only to be mown down in hundreds by deadly volleys from the 66th. But ghazis are undeterred by the prospect of death and they kept rushing at the 66th, until, momentarily flinching in the face of the disciplined fire, they changed direction across the front of Jacob's Rifles and headed straight for E/B's guns.

Colonel H. S. Anderson (qv) of the Bombay Grenadiers saw them coming and tried to form company squares but at the same moment his regiment was charged on its left and front. Confusion reigned in the Grenadier ranks. The guns of E/B swept the ground before them with a murderous fire of canister shot, but nothing was going to stop the ghazi rush. Captain Slade, who now commanded E/B in place of Blackwood (Ritchie 1-120) who had been wounded, knew that he must get the guns away before they fell into enemy hands. He shouted orders for the guns to limber up and retire, and led out Fowell's centre division himself, Fowell having been wounded. Lieutenant Osborne passed the orders for the right division to pull out, and dismounting from his horse helped the surviving Gunners to hook-in. But before he could mount again an Afghan shot him dead - but his guns galloped away to safety.

'Maclaine (qv) either did not hear the order to retire, which is unlikely, or he knew better and still hoped to stem the rush and save the day. He fired his last round of case-shot when the enemy were but twenty yards from his gun-muzzles, and then tried to hook-in and go. It was too late. The ghazis flooded over the position, slashing and thrusting, hacking at the men. Gunners fought back furiously with handspikes and sponge-rods, anything that they could find. A limber came up, but the drivers were dragged struggling from their horses and slaughtered on the ground, while the team galloped masterless and riderless to the rear without its gun. Maclaine, himself slightly wounded, saw that the other gun had been overrun and that there was no hope of recovering it, so decided at least to save the team. But just before it left, the Number One, Sergeant Patrick Mullane, charged back in rage among the ghazis, who recoiled before his fury. He managed to grab a wounded driver from under the very knives of the tribesmen, and to carry him back and put him on the limber. They galloped away to rejoin the battery, leaving the ghazis and Kabuli infantry standing proudly around two 9-pounder guns of the Royal Horse Artillery.'

Captain Beresford-Pierse of the 66th still thought there was a chance of recovering the guns and he turned the rear rank of his left half-company around to fire volleys at the captors. But almost at once numbers of Sepoys from Jacob's Rifles, under Colonel W. G. Mainwaring (Ritchie 1-126), crowded into his ranks causing further chaos. Following an abortive charge by the cavalry brigade the guns fell back on Mundabad with Nuttall. Maclaine retired gunless to join Slade and the rest of E/B at the place where Blackwood had chosen his first position of the day and here the gun limbers were refilled from the ammunition echelon.

The infantry, meanwhile, were streaming towards Khig. Hearing a bugle sounding the retire from that direction Nuttall decided there was no point in lingering and, having allowed the E/B's 9-pounders to fire a couple of rounds at the advancing enemy cavalry, he gave orders for the baggage guard and the stragglers of several regiments to pull out and join the general retreat to Kandahar thirty miles away. The smooth-bores were now completely out of ammunition and were sent on ahead with Maclaine's gunless limbers which were quickly covered with wounded and exhausted officers and men. Maclaine now in charge of Osborne's division moved on up the ragged column, while Slade kept Fowell's guns under his own hand.

Nuttall's Mundabad group struggled out of the village under the fire of Afghan guns and threatened by enemy cavalry. Fortunately the Afghan horse made no attempt to cut the line of retreat and contented itself with attacks on the tail of the column. When they massed for a serious attack Slade unlimbered his two 9-pounders and fired a few rounds, and whenever, the threat did not justify bringing the guns into action the cavalry rear party would charge.

Slade graphically described the scene: *'All over the wide expanse of desert are to be seen men in twos and threes retreating. Sick men almost naked are astride donkeys, mules, ponies and camels. Horses limp along with ugly wounds. The hordes of irregular horsemen are to be seen among our baggage animals relentlessly cutting down one and all, and looting. Men can hardly speak, the wounded open their mouths and show a dried parched tongue, and with a sad expression convey to your mind but a glimpse of their intense suffering.'*

By 9 p.m. the column, tortured by thirst, was strung out along the Kandahar road. In the villages the locals lit fires relaying the signal that there were infidels to be killed and loot to be had without too great an element of personal risk. Soon after 11 o'clock those who had followed the main body came up to the empty Hauz-i-Maudat water tank. A desperate search was made for the source that supplied it and at length a small well was discovered a little distance from the road. When the cry went up that water had been located there was a stampede of the parched troops. But the well was shallow and only one man could drink from it at a time, and anyone not strong enough to hold his place was simply dragged off and his station usurped by another. Many soldiers got something to drink but the unfortunate followers had no rights and few of the wounded had friends strong enough to fetch water for them. And in any case it was soon necessary to push on.

For services in Afghanistan E/B, R.H.A., received the special thanks of the Viceroy and Commander-in-Chief in General Orders, 'and the following officers, non-commissioned officers, and men were, decorated: Captain Slade, with a Companionship of the Bath; Sergeant Mulane and Gunner Collis, with the Victoria Cross; Sergeant-Major Paton, Quartermaster-Sergeant Munroe, Sergeant Burridge, Corporal Thorogood, Bombardier Payne, Gunner Tighe, Driver Bishop [Ritchie 1-122], and Trumpeter Jones, with the medal for distinguished conduct in the field'.

Battery Sergeant-Major William Paton, the Senior N.C.O. of "E" Battery at the battle of Maiwand, died at Aldershot on 18 May 1904.

Refs: E/B R.H.A. at Maiwand, R.A. Journal, Vol LV, No. 3 (Latham); My God Maiwand, Operations of the South Afghanistan Field Force 1878-80 (Maxwell); The Second Afghan War (Hanna); The Afghan Campaign of 1878-1880 (Shadbolt); Recipients of the Distinguished Conduct Medal 1855-1909 (Abbott).



The Second Afghan War medal to Lieutenant Hector Maclaine, "E" Battery "B" Brigade, Royal Horse Artillery, captured at Maiwand and murdered in Ayub Khan's camp at the very moment of victory during the battle of Kandahar

AFGHANISTAN 1878-80, 1 clasp, Kandahar (Lieut. H. Maclaine, E. Batt: B. Bde. R.H.A.) *some light surface marks, otherwise good very fine* £5000-6000

Hector Maclaine, the eldest son of William Osborne Maclaine, D.L., J.P., of Kyneton, Gloucestershire, and Anna, daughter of John Thurburn, J.P., of Murtle, Arberdeenshire, was born on 24 November 1851 at Murtle. Educated at Eton and Woolwich, he was commissioned into the Royal Artillery on 6 January 1872 and served with the 5th Brigade, R.A., before proceeding to India in October 1873. He served with Battery B/18 at Haidarabad and Karachi and returned home with that battery in 1874 when it was redesignated I/2. He served with I/2 at home until receiving his 'jacket' in July 1878. Two months later he sailed for India in charge of drafts for 'E' Battery, 'B' Brigade, R.H.A., which he joined at Mhow and accompanied to Kirkee. In December 1879, this 'aggressive young officer' volunteered for active service in Afghanistan and on Christmas Day was sent to the Khyber to join Battery I/C. He served with the latter battery at Daka and returned with it to India, whence he rejoined E/B, which in the meantime had left Kirkee in February 1880 for active service at Kandahar.

Maclaine caught up with E/B a little way beyond Sibi and marched with it through the Bolan Pass to Kandahar which was reached on 10 April 1880. In June, having been laid up with fever for five weeks, he was sent in charge of invalids to Baba Wali, and while there received notice that E/B was ordered out to join General Burrows's Gihisk Field Force, which, in support of Afghan troops under the Wali of Kandahar, was to deter local tribes from rallying to the standard of Ayub Khab, the claimant to the Kabul throne, who was approaching from Herat in the west. On 10 July, six days and eighty miles out of Kandahar, on the west side of the Helmand River, agents reported to Burrows' intelligence officer, Colonel St. John, that Ayub had reached Farah and dumped his excess baggage, intending to travel light from thereon. This news had a disastrous effect on the Wali's men encamped two miles away on the eastern side of the river and set them upon the verge of mutiny. Burrows decided that they should be disarmed by his British troops, but gave orders for our own people to move to a more easily defensible camp higher up on the east bank before stirring up trouble. Although it was only a short distance to the new camp, Burrows ordered that the move should be carried out under fully operational conditions which was just as well because on the way the Wali's men broke into open revolt and made off up the west bank with their smooth-bore guns, howitzers, and Burrows' supplies. Burrows ordered Brigadier-General Nuttall's cavalry brigade, to which E/B belonged, to pursue but they were at once confronted by a part of the river which was much deeper than elsewhere, which in itself was the very reason why the new camp site had been chosen.

Valuable time was lost in retracing their steps to a fordable part of the river but at length the 3rd Light Cavalry and Scinde Horse began to cross in single file. E/B found a better crossing place but none the less had considerable difficulty in making the passage. On the far side cavalry immediately set off by squadrons and six miles up river caught up with the mutineers but unable to charge owing to the broken nature of the ground could at first only harry the rear-guard. Nuttall however pressed so hard that the mutineers were eventually forced to abandon their flight and defend themselves by bringing their two 12-pounder howitzers and four 6-pounder smooth-bore guns into action. The cavalry being in no position to take on six regiments of infantry with artillery held off but remained poised in case there was any sign of a move from the Wali's ex-army. E/B meanwhile had been further delayed on the west bank by cultivated ground criss-crossed with irrigation ditches, so deep that the guns could only be got over by digging ramps down one side and up the other. Finally at about 1 p.m., Maclaine's C.O., Major G. F. Blackwood (Ritchie 1-120), got four of his guns clear and Nuttall ordered him into action. Maclaine, however, was still labouring over the ditches with his two guns of the left division of the battery, when he heard the first rounds fired by centre and right divisions. He was extremely annoyed at having missed the beginning of the battle, and by way of consolation Blackwood, allowed him to choose his own position to the left of the battery. Maclaine then expressed his individuality and asserted his ego by dropping his trails two hundred yards nearer to the enemy than the centre and right divisions!

After an artillery duel of about half an hour, the infantry came up led by H.M.'s 66th Regiment. As they advanced, E/B moved forward with Maclaine doing 'considerable execution' amidst the mutineer infantry, who were swiftly defeated but for the most part able to disperse north to fight another day. The Afghan drivers of the gun teams waited only long enough to slash the wheel harnesses of the smooth-bores and howitzers, which now fell into Burrows' hands, before joining their 'brothers'. In the absence of the original means with which to move the captured guns, L/B told off twelve of its lead horses to provide the necessary traction while the infantry supplied a number of men to hold up the shafts of the limbers in place of the slashed harnesses. But moving the vast quantity of ammunition captured with the guns, however, proved an insurmountable problem, and all but fifty rounds per gun were thrown into a deep hole in the river. It was a decision that was regretted only too soon.



The smooth bores were formed into a battery on the 19th with Captain Slade, R.A., in command, the necessary horses and harnesses having been procured from Kandahar and elsewhere. In view of the threat posed by Ayub, Burrows, appreciating that the Helmand River line could not be held, fell back to the next area of natural defence which lay between the Khushk-i-Nakhud River and the Karez-i-Ata, finally opening a camp on the west bank of the Khushk-i-Nakhud.

On 21 July reliable information was received that Ayub's main body had reached the Helmand and that his infantry and artillery had been distributed about the locality for a rest, while a large force of cavalry under Lui-Naib Khush-Dil Khan was believed to have joined him two days before. Fearing a night attack by these horsemen, Burrows moved his camp a few hundred yards into a walled enclosure, and the same day received via Kandahar a directive from the Commander-in-Chief stating that it was of the utmost importance to prevent Ayub from reaching the Ghazni road running through the Khagrez Valley from the junction north east of Maiwand.

At 4 a.m., the hour before first light, on 23 July, a routine patrol of the Scinde Horse ran into about 500 of Khush-Dil Khan's cavalry making a reconnaissance in force. The patrol took up a defensive position and held off the horsemen with their carbines. Major Leach, V.C., who was on his way to Maiwand to burn corn lest it should fall into Ayub's hands, heard their firing and reported to Burrows who lost no time in despatching Nuttall with the rest of the cavalry brigade and MacLaine's division of E/B, which was standing to as they did every morning as a precaution against dawn attack. Nuttall's scouts erroneously told him that the enemy horse were supported by infantry with the result that he decided to wait for reinforcements before attacking. The delay however permitted the Afghan horse to withdraw unmolested. It was another disappointment for MacLaine. The next time he went into action he decided, he would not allow the deliberations of procrastinating seniors to get between his 9-pounders and the foe.

On the evening of the 26th Burrows heard that Maiwand was in the hands of tribesmen who were holding it for Ayub. Accordingly he resolved to evict them next day and take possession of the village and thereby block the way to Ghazni. Unaware that Ayub was already heading the same way, the force advanced early on the 27th, but at a point half way between Mashak and Karez-Ak, Burrows heard from one of St. John's spies that Ayub too was under full march for Maiwand. The report was soon confirmed by Nuttall's patrols and it now appeared that Ayub unhindered by baggage would reach the vital road junction north east of Maiwand first. Burrows only chance of stopping Ayub was to bring him into action on the plain between the village of Mundabad and Maiwand.

Towards 10.30 a.m. Burrows's column approached Mundabad and he deployed his infantry into line with guns in the centre, and cavalry on the left, covering the movement with MacLaine's horse artillery guns and a troop of cavalry in advance. Nuttall and Blackwood with a cavalry escort and Lieutenant Fowell's centre division E/B were then sent forward to reconnoitre the village and open fire on the enemy horse seen on the skyline beyond the Mundabad Ravine. Blackwood was to cross the ravine close to the village where the banks dropped away sheer some fifteen or twenty feet. Accordingly, he told MacLaine to find an easier crossing place to the left where the banks were less steep thus ensuring that at least some guns would be speedily available on the other side to support the cavalry. MacLaine found a suitable place and began to cross at the point later used by the left hand regiment, the Bombay Grenadiers, only moving when he saw Fowell start. Fowell, having crossed, and opened fire, found that the range was too great and so limbered-up again and advanced a further 1,000 yards to the crest of the gentle slope that ran up from the ravine. It was at this point and not earlier that MacLaine in perfect accordance with orders was seen galloping forward with his division and an escort of cavalry to engage a mass of the enemy.

Later, in the light of the disaster at Maiwand, the Commander-in-Chief in India asked the surviving officers to submit reports. General Burrows, who had omitted mention of MacLaine at this stage in an earlier report, accused MacLaine of precipitating events by racing ahead of the rest of the force and going into action prematurely, thereby committing him to his rescue and the disastrous battle on the plain. Contrary to that assertion MacLaine was now only drawing level with the rest of E/B and the cavalry. Other officers who submitted reports to the C-in-C mostly avoided comment on MacLaine's actions, with the notable exception of Major Leach who was motivated by a desire to defend the reputation of 'a gallant officer since deceased'.

'So far MacLaine had only acted in the way that would have been expected of him, but he had no intention of leaving matters at that. He was a young officer and a very efficient one, otherwise he would not have been selected to serve in the Royal Horse Artillery. He would have been expected to use his initiative, not merely abide by the letter of his instructions. Undoubtedly, he was also impelled by the urge to be first into action this time, after his tribulations at Girishk and against the Lui-Naib's [Great Leader's] cavalry. So now he headed straight for the enemy until he came within range of the Afghan horsemen, then came into action and opened fire on them.'

Burrows's attention was now drawn to MacLaine by a member of his staff, and according to Leach's report, Burrows showed no anxiety about MacLaine's position, though he did not approve of the guns being sent so far forward and he sent Lieutenant Dobbs, the Acting Deputy Assistant Commissary-General, to fetch him back. Blackwood too saw him and despatched a trumpeter to recall him.

'Dobbs was already on his way and caught up with MacLaine when he had fired four rounds and the enemy had withdrawn out of sight. He passed on Burrows's orders. Unfortunately, even in those days, officers who happened to be in the Royal Horse Artillery or Old Etonians were sometimes disinclined to listen to subalterns in the Commissariat, and MacLaine, besides belonging to both categories, was no exception to the rule. He pointed out to Dobbs that he was in no danger whatever and would stay precisely where he was while Dobbs reported back to the Brigadier-General - who would be sure in the circumstances to issue different orders. Blackwood's trumpeter, needless to say, was equally unsuccessful!' Ultimately, MacLaine was eventually persuaded to return to the fold and rejoin the battery but only through the combined efforts of the Cavalry Brigade-Major, the Deputy Assistant Quartermaster-General, and Major Leach. By 11 a.m. the infantry had come up with the cavalry and the rest of E/B a mile north of the ravine. At ten past MacLaine came thundering back with his guns and escort, and dropped into action a defiant two hundred and fifty yards to Fowell's left, and it was not until nearly half an hour later that 'this extremely stubborn young officer' was forced to his correct distance to forty yards, and even then he was well forward of the battery gun line.

For three hours E/B, with the Bombay Grenadiers moving up on its left and Jacob's Rifles on its right, banged away firing 120 rounds from each gun as the Afghan horde began to envelope Burrows's front which now curved round in a salient with the Grenadiers at the apex. At about 2 p.m., the roar of battle died down to an ominous rumble as Ayub prepared to launch a general advance. From a nullah opposite Jacob's Rifles and the 66th Foot on the British right, wave upon wave of wheeling, circling, cavorting tribesmen rose up only to be mown down in hundreds by deadly volleys from the 66th. But ghazis are undeterred by the prospect of death and they kept rushing at the 66th, until, momentarily flinching in the face of the disciplined fire, they changed direction across the front of Jacob's Rifles and headed straight for E/B's guns.

Colonel H. S. Anderson (qv) of the Bombay Grenadiers saw them coming and tried to form company squares but at the same moment his regiment was charged on its left and front. Confusion reigned in the Grenadier ranks. The guns of E/B swept the ground before them with a murderous fire of canister shot, but nothing was going to stop the ghazi rush. Captain Slade, who now commanded E/B in place of Blackwood who had been wounded, knew that he must get the guns away before they fell into enemy hands. He shouted orders for the guns to limber up and retire, and led out Fowell's centre division himself, Fowell having been wounded. Lieutenant Osborne passed the orders for the right division to pull out, and dismounting from his horse helped the surviving Gunners to hook-in. But before he could mount again an Afghan shot him dead - but his guns galloped away to safety.

'Maclaine either did not hear the order to retire, which is unlikely, or he knew better and still hoped to stem the rush and save the day. He fired his last round of case-shot when the enemy were but twenty yards from his gun-muzzles, and then tried to hook-in and go. It was too late. The ghazis flooded over the position, slashing and thrusting, hacking at the men. Gunners fought back furiously with handspikes and sponge-rods, anything that they could find. A limber came up, but the drivers were dragged struggling from their horses and slaughtered on the ground, while the team galloped masterless and riderless to the rear without its gun. Maclaine, himself slightly wounded, saw that the other gun had been overrun and that there was no hope of recovering it, so decided at least to save the team. But just before it left, the Number One, Sergeant Patrick Mullane, charged back in rage among the ghazis, who recoiled before his fury. He managed to grab a wounded driver from under the very knives of the tribesmen, and to carry him back and put him on the limber. They galloped away to rejoin the battery, leaving the ghazis and Kabuli infantry standing proudly around two 9-pounder guns of the Royal Horse Artillery.'

Captain Beresford-Pierse of the 66th still thought there was a chance of recovering the guns and he turned the rear rank of his left half-company around to fire volleys at the captors. But almost at once numbers of Sepoys from Jacob's Rifles, under Colonel W. G. Mainwaring (Ritchie 1-126), crowded into his ranks causing further chaos.

Following an abortive charge by the cavalry brigade the guns fell back on Mundabad with Nuttall. Maclaine retired gunless to join Slade and the rest of E/B at the place where Blackwood had chosen his first position of the day and here the gun limbers were refilled from the ammunition echelon. The infantry, meanwhile, were streaming towards Khig. Hearing a bugle sounding the retire from that direction Nuttall decided there was no point in lingering and, having allowed the E/B's 9-pounders to fire a couple of rounds at the advancing enemy cavalry, he gave orders for the baggage guard and the stragglers of several regiments to pull out and join the general retreat to Kandahar thirty miles away. The smooth-bores were now completely out of ammunition and were sent on ahead with Maclaine's gunless limbers which were quickly covered with wounded and exhausted officers and men. Maclaine now in charge of Osborne's division moved on up the ragged column, while Slade kept Fowell's guns under his own hand.

Nuttall's Mundabad group struggled out of the village under the fire of Afghan guns and threatened by enemy cavalry. Fortunately the Afghan horse made no attempt to cut the line of retreat and contented itself with attacks on the tail of the column. When they massed for a serious attack Slade unlimbered his two 9-pounders and fired a few rounds, and whenever, the threat did not justify bringing the guns into action the cavalry rear party would charge. Slade graphically described the scene: 'All over the wide expanse of desert are to be seen men in twos and threes retreating. Sick men almost naked are astride donkeys, mules, ponies and camels. Horses limp along with ugly wounds. The hordes of irregular horsemen are to be seen among our baggage animals relentlessly cutting down one and all, and looting. Men can hardly speak, the wounded open their mouths and show a dried parched tongue, and with a sad expression convey to your mind but a glimpse of their intense suffering.'

By 9 p.m. the column, tortured by thirst, was strung out along the Kandahar road. In the villages the locals lit fires relaying the signal that there were infidels to be killed and loot to be had without too great an element of personal risk. Soon after 11 o'clock those who had followed the main body came up to the empty Hauz-i-Maudat water tank. A desperate search was made for the source that supplied and at length a small well was discovered a little distance from the road. When the cry went up that water had been located there was a stampede of the parched troops. But the well was shallow and only one man could drink from it at a time, and anyone not strong enough to hold his place was simply dragged off and his station usurped by another. Many soldiers got something to drink but the unfortunate followers had no rights and few of the wounded had friends strong enough to fetch water for them. And in any case it was soon necessary to push on.

Perhaps racked by self-criticism at having lost his guns, Maclaine decided to leave the road to find some alternative source of water for the wounded, and in the early hours of the 28th he struck out with Bombadier Lowe, but was soon lured into a house near Sinjiri and taken prisoner. For a week he received some pretty rough treatment but then the Khan of Kokeran, Sirdar Nur Mahommed Khan, arrived home and Maclaine was delivered into his hands. The Khan had been the *Sirtip*, or Cavalry Commander, in the Wali's army and had been a great entertainer of British officers at Kandahar where in happier days Maclaine had made his acquaintance, before his defection to Ayub which had caused the Wali to annex his property and throw his young son into prison. With the advent of the *Sirtip*, Maclaine received better treatment and was held in the nobleman's own bungalow. On 6 August Ayub Khan collected Maclaine from Kokeran and held him in his camp where he was treated well. Colonel St. John, having learnt of Maclaine's imprisonment, offered Nur Mahommed Khan's son as an exchange. But Ayub had nothing to gain by this arrangement and the offer was refused.

Having learnt of the disaster at Maiwand and that Ayub was besieging Kandahar, Roberts set out on his famous march from Kabul and at Kelat-i-Gilzai wrote to Ayub demanding Maclaine's release, but with no result. On 1 September 1880 at the very hour of Roberts' victory at the battle of Kandahar, Maclaine was dragged out of his tent and killed by a fanatical guard. Some Sepoys taken at Maiwand managed to escape but Maclaine was suffering from fever, and lacked the strength to defend himself. His body, still warm, was found shortly afterwards by the 92nd Highlanders. Three healed wounds on his chest bore testimony to the savage treatment he had received during the first days of his captivity at Kokeran, and beneath his collapsed tent, the *Times* war correspondent General Luther Vaughan (see Lot 86), reported, were found 'such affecting relics as his pipe, the remains of his last meal, and an unfinished pencil diary', recording the dates of his various movements.

Roberts was furious, and later recorded: "As I rode into the abandoned camp, I was horrified to hear that the body of Maclaine, the Horse Artillery officer who had been taken prisoner at Maiwand, was lying with the throat cut about forty-yards from Ayub Khan's own tent. From what I could learn, the latter had not actually ordered the murder, but as a word from him would have prevented it, he must be held responsible for the assassination of an officer who had fallen into his hands as a prisoner of war.' Lieutenant Maclaine was buried with full military honours at Kandahar, and a memorial window was erected in his parish church of Thornbury in Gloucestershire. Ayub Khan led two further unsuccessful revolts against the British puppet Abdur Rahman, and getting on in years finally gave himself up to the Government of India as a political prisoner at large, whiling away his twilight years thirty years after Maiwand at the pleasant hill station of Murree in the northern Punjab.

Refs: L/B R.H.A. at Maiwand, R.A. Journal, Vol LV, No. 3 (Latham); My God Maiwand, Operations of the South Afghanistan Field Force 1878-80 (Maxwell); The Second Afghan War (Hanna); The Afghan Campaign of 1878-1880 (Shadbolt); Forty-One Years in India (Roberts); My Service in the Indian Army and After (Vaughan).



The Second Afghan War medal to Private John Eaton, 66th Foot, killed in action at Maiwand

AFGHANISTAN 1878-80, no clasp (B/216 Pte. J. Eaton, 66th Foot) *toned, good very fine*

£1200-1500

Private John Eaton, 66th Foot, was killed in action at Maiwand on 27 July 1880.

Refs: *London Gazette* 31 December 1880; WO 100/52.



The Second Afghan War medal to Private John Hoare, 66th Foot, killed in action at Maiwand

AFGHANISTAN 1878-80, no clasp (B/1413 Pte. J. Hoare, 66th Foot) *nearly extremely fine*

£1200-1500

Private John Hoare, 66th Foot, was killed in action at Maiwand on 27 July 1880.

Refs: *London Gazette* 31 December 1880; WO 100/52.



The Second Afghan War medal to Colour-Sergeant Samuel Scadding, 66th Foot, killed in action at Maiwand

AFGHANISTAN 1878-80, no clasp (1340 Cr. Sgt. S. Scadding, 66th Foot) *good very fine*

£1400-1800

Samuel Scadding, 66th Foot, was one of four Colour-Sergeants killed in action at Maiwand on 27 July 1880.

Refs: *London Gazette* 31 December 1880; WO 100/52.



The Second Afghan War medal to Lieutenant R. T. Chute, 66th Foot, killed in the famous stand of the 'Last Eleven' in the walled garden near Maiwand

AFGHANISTAN 1878-80, no clasp (Lieut. R. T. Chute, 66th Foot) *sometime cleaned and polished, therefore nearly very fine* £4000-5000

Ex Buckland Dix & Wood, May 1993, when sold along with the medals of his uncle, General Sir Trevor Chute, K.C.B., both lots from the Bill Land Collection.



Richard Trevor Chute, one of 'The Last Eleven' at Maiwand, was the youngest son of Richard Chute, D.L., of Chute Hall, Co. Kerry, and the Hon. Mrs Chute, daughter of Lord Ventry, and was born on 17 September 1856 at Kerry.

He was educated at Wimbledon School, and in 1875 joined the Cavan Militia from which received his commission as a Second Lieutenant in the 66th (Berkshire) Regiment in October 1877. He embarked shortly afterwards to join the Headquarters of his regiment in India and served successively at Kobla, Haidarabad, and Karachi. Promoted Lieutenant, he was subsequently appointed Acting Quartermaster and was serving in that capacity on the day of his heroic death at the Battle of Maiwand on 27 July 1880. In early 1880 the 66th were selected as one of the two British regiments that formed part of the Bombay Brigade which relieved the Bengal troops at Kandahar, and in February 1880 Chute marched with it through the Bolan and for the next few months took part in the duties that fell to the regiment at that station.

In July he marched with Brigadier-General Burrows' field force in support of the Wali of Kandahar to dispute the advance of Ayub Khan. In the neighbourhood of Girishk on 14 July during the mutiny of the Wali's troops, his company was one of those detailed to guard the baggage on the west bank of the Helmand.

At the battle of Maiwand after the ghazi charges shattered the Bombay Grenadiers and Jacob's Rifles, the 66th began its retreat from the plain, across the Mundabad Ravine, to the walled enclosures and gardens at the village of Khig. Several weeks after the battle and at the approach of a punitive column under General Daubney the local villagers hurriedly buried the British dead still lying where they had fallen on 27 July, and by opening the graves to identify the fallen, a picture of the retreat emerged. The regiment had covered General Burrows' withdrawal from the field and falling back had clearly been engaged in constant furious combat. In the first two hundred yards from the 66th's original fighting position on the right of the British line there were five graves containing some 200 men. Another hundred died before the ravine was reached. In a stand on the far side about seventy fell. In Khig itself the survivors made a second stand where thirty-six bodies were found. The last stand was made in a walled garden on the southern edge of the village and here thirty-six more were shot down.

Only Lieutenant Chute and the Adjutant of the Bombay Grenadiers, Lieutenant Hinde, and nine men were left alive. 'The Last Eleven' came out into the open, shortly before sunset, preferring to fight to the end in the open rather than boxed in by walls of mud-brick. A Kizilbash artillery Colonel who had come forward with the Afghan guns witnessed the scene:

'Surrounded by the whole of the Afghan army, they fought on until only eleven men were left, inflicting enormous loss on their enemy. These men charged out of the garden, and died with their faces to the foe, fighting to the death. Such was the nature of their charge, and the grandeur of their bearing, that although the whole of the ghazis were assembled around them, no one dared to approach to cut them down. Thus, standing in the open, back to back, firing steadily and truly, every shot telling, surrounded by thousands, these officers and men died; and it was not until the last man was shot down that the ghazis dared advance upon them. The conduct of these men was the admiration of all that witnessed it.'

The Afghan Colonel's evidence was confirmed by the number of dead horses, once mounts of the tribal cavalry, lying in a circle around the scene of Chute's gallant death.

Refs: My God Maiwand, Operations of the South Afghanistan Field Force 1878-80 (Maxwell); The Second Afghan War (Hanna); The Afghan Campaign of 1878-1880 (Shadbolt).



The Second Afghan War Medal to Major-General Arthur Battye, 2nd (P.W.O.) Gurkhas, one of the 'Fighting Ten' Battye brothers, who was wounded at Kandahar, three times mentioned and awarded the C.B. for Afghanistan

AFGHANISTAN 1878-80, 2 clasps, Kabul, Kandahar (Lt. Col. A. Battye, CB. 2nd Goorkha) *minor nicks and bruises, otherwise toned, nearly extremely fine* £1200-1500

Arthur Battye, brother of Charles Forbes Battye (see Lot 80) and seventh son of George Wynard Battye, B.C.S., was born at Torquay on 30 October 1839. He was commissioned Ensign on 6 January 1857 and in April was posted to the 19th N.I., which corps was disbanded at Barrackpore by Sir John Hearsey (see Lot 12) on 31 March. He is supposed to have served with Hodson's Horse at the capture of Lucknow in 1858, and, gazetted to the Bengal Staff Corps, was appointed the 2nd Gurkhas in May 1859. He served with them in the 1864 Northwest Frontier expedition against Sultan Muhammed Khan, and in 1871-72, he took part with the regiment in the expedition to punish the Looshais and rescue the abducted tea planter's daughter, Mary Winchester. The expedition was divided into a two-pronged advance, with the 2nd Gurkhas marching in early December 1871 in the Chittagong Column under Brigadier-General C. H. Brownlow. After a couple of skirmishes, the force came up against the village of Chief Lal Gnura. The 2nd Gurkhas attacked and took the village losing one man killed, Captain Battye and nine men wounded.

In 1878 the 2nd Gurkhas formed part of the Malta and Cyprus expeditionary force, which in accordance with the treaty between Britain and Turkey was to garrison the latter island at the handover of administration in case of local opposition. There was no serious trouble and the expedition returned to India towards the end of the year when the 2nd (P.W.O.) Gurkhas were ordered on service to Afghanistan. Battye served through both campaigns, commanding the regiment from May 1879 in the first and throughout the second. In December 1878 he took part in the operations under Brigadier-General Doran in the Bazar Valley, and returned to that area with Brigadier-General Appleyard's column early the next year. On 26 January he commanded a rearguard action in which two of his men were wounded and the enemy repulsed. In March the regiment moved through the Khyber to Basawal where it remained until withdrawing to India at the signing of the Treaty of Gandamak. On the renewal of hostilities Battye's Gurkhas advanced with Brigadier-General Charles Gough's brigade to Gandamak in October, and the next month was employed on outpost duty at Pezwan and Jagdalak. Battye took part in the fighting at the latter place, and on 21 December marched with Gough's brigade to the relief of Sherpur, arriving on the 24th. The regiment remained at Kabul until the evacuation of the northern Afghanistan in August 1880, when it formed part of Macpherson's brigade in Roberts' march from Kabul to Kandahar.

At the battle of Kandahar on 1 September 1880, Battye's regiment formed part of the 1st Brigade and played a conspicuous part in the captures of the villages of Gundi Mullah Sahibdad and Pir Paimal. Lord Roberts wrote, 'Grieg's 9-pounder and Robinson's 7-pounder (screw gun) batteries covered the attack on Gundi Mulla Sahibdad, which was made by the 2nd Gurkhas, under Lieutenant-Colonel Arthur Battye, and the 92nd Highlanders ... The village was carried with the utmost gallantry, Highlanders and Gurkhas, always friendly rivals in the race for glory, by turns outstripping each other in their efforts to be first within its walls.' In this action eight men of the regiment were killed, and Battye and twenty-one men were wounded. For services in Afghanistan, Battye was mentioned in despatches three times, received the Brevet of Lieutenant-Colonel, and was created a Companion of the Bath. He retired with the rank of Major-General and died on 13 June 1909.

'The late distinguished General's demise', one obituary read, 'acquires an additional interest for the singular fact that it has become an unusual event for a soldier Battye to die in his bed, though he gave fate every opportunity, was wounded, and in the thick of the Indian warfare, for many years.'

Refs: Who Was Who; The Indian Army of the Empress, 1861-1903 (Harfield); The Afghan Campaign of 1878-80 (Shadbolt); The Second Afghan War (Hanna) The Fighting Ten (Battye).



The campaign pair to Colonel W. B. Aislabie, 3rd Sikh Infantry

(a) INDIA GENERAL SERVICE 1854-94, 3 clasps, Umbeyla, North West Frontier, Jowaki 1877-8 (Lieut. W. B. Aislabie, 3rd Sikh Infantry)

(b) AFGHANISTAN 1878-80, 2 clasps, Kabul, Kandahar (Maj. W. B. Aislabie, 3rd Sikh Infy.) *about good very fine*
(2) £1200-1500

William Benjamin Aislabie joined the Indian Army as an Ensign on 20 December 1859, becoming Lieutenant in the 3rd Sikh Infantry on 23 November 1861. He served throughout the Umbeyla campaign of 1863, including the actions of 15th and 16th December; and with the same regiment in the Hazara campaign of 1868, including the expedition against the tribes on the Black Mountain.

In the last days of August 1877, Aislabie took command of the regiment during the Jowaki Expedition, his commanding officer, Colonel Mocatta, having succeeded to the command of the force which, consisting of the 1st Sikhs and 4th Punjab Infantry in addition to the 3rd Sikhs, was to make a demonstration through the Tortung Pass towards Gumbut. The operation involved some skirmishing and cost the life of one man of the 3rd Sikhs and five wounded before returning to Kohat next day. In September, Aislabie, in command of a detachment of 220 rifles, relieved a similar party of the 1st Sikhs at Gundiali and was employed for a fortnight in heavy patrolling duty from Gumbut. At the end of the month he commanded 447 rifles, and together with the 1st Sikhs, covered the building of a fort at Gundiali. Three men were wounded.

In the autumn the Jowaki Afridis turned up the heat, attacking tribes between Peshawar and Kohat. Two 'Piffer' punitive columns were organised under Brigadier-Generals Keyes and Ross. The 3rd Sikhs advanced with the main force (the Kohat Column) under the former and on 1 December 1877 attacked and captured Jummo, the principal stronghold of the Jowaki Afridis. The tribesmen fled into the hills and the Jowaki headmen sought peace. But they found the terms unacceptable and hostilities were resumed until the tribesmen were utterly defeated by 250 British cavalry on 15 February. Aislabie was subsequently thanked for his services in Keyes despatch (GO No.738 of 9 August 1878) in the following terms:

'The command of the 3rd Sikh Infantry devolved, in the absence of Colonel Mocatta and Major Money [see Lot 103], on Captain W. B. Aislabie, who carried out the duty in the advance on Piah, the advance on the Dargai heights and operations at Narel Kula to my entire satisfaction and with much credit to himself.'

On 6 September 1879 at the renewal of hostilities in the Second Afghan War, Aislabie accompanied his regiment from Bunnoo to Kurram. On the 20th orders were received for the march to the Shuturgardan Pass on the road to Kabul which the regiment was to defend with distinction. The pass was reached on the 25th and Aislabie was duly present at the repulses of the enemy with heavy loss on 2 and 14 October. On the latter occasion, 'A large body of tribesmen had, for a short time, commanded the British position and broken its telegraphic communication with the Kuram. Major C. J. Griffiths, who went out with 250 Sikhs to dislodge the enemy, was wounded early in the engagement, but his men, led by Captain W. B. Aislabie, drove the tribesmen from the heights with the loss of their main standard, captured by Jemadar Gunesa Sing, and of two or three hundred killed and wounded, whilst, including Griffiths and Signalling-Sergeant Browne, the victors had only eight men wounded.' With this heavy engagement the Afghans were totally routed and pursued for two miles though not dispersed.

Following the abandonment of the Shuturgardan on 30 October and the regiment's arrival at Kabul, Aislabie took part in the defeat of the Afghans by Macpherson's brigade in the Chardeh valley on 10 December, and again on the 11th when Massy's guns were recovered. On the 13th when 400 men of the 92nd Highlanders, the Corps of Guides, and 300 rifles of the 3rd Sikhs, under Brigadier-General T. D. Baker (qv) marched out from the Sherpur cantonment to attack and carry the Takht-i-Shah peak, Aislabie went up the spur with 100 rifles as escort to No.3 Mountain Battery. In the afternoon next day, 'the enemy attacked a strong picket left on the conical hill below Asmai heights and succeeded in driving the defenders away with the loss of 2 mountain guns, following them down into the plains. The 100 rifles under Captain Aislabie were ordered at the double to check the enemy and cover the retirement. The 3rd Sikhs formed skirmishing order, passed through our retirement, engaged the enemy and drove them up the hill ... In this affair all ranks behaved with coolness and gallantry.'

Between 14 and 23 December Aislabie served in the defence of Sherpur. Promoted to Field Rank on 20 December, he was appointed Wing Commander in his corps on the same date, vice Major Griffiths. In May 1880 he accompanied the regiment into the Logar, Wardak, and Maidan valleys to collect supplies and destroy refractory Ghilzai villages. In August he took part in the march from Kabul to the relief of Kandahar and was present at the crushing defeat of Ayub Khan at the Battle of Kandahar on 1 September. For services in the Afghan War of 1878-80, he was three times mentioned in Roberts' despatches, received the Medal with two clasps and the Bronze Star.

In November 1880 the 3rd Sikhs arrived at Dera Ghazi Khan and occupied the Right Infantry lines, and on the departure of Colonel Money on sick furlough to Europe, Aislabie was appointed to officiate as second in command. Promoted Lieutenant-Colonel he finally became Commandant of his corps in December 1887 on the retirement of Major Griffiths. 'By GCO dated 15th March, Lieutenant-Colonel W. B. Aislabie was permitted to retire from the service with effect from 18th March [1889] and was struck off the strength of the Regiment.'

Refs: Hodson Index (NAM); Historical Records of the 3rd Sikh Infantry 1847-1930 (Shepherd); The Afghan Campaign of 1878-1880 (Shadbolt); The Second Afghan War (Hanna).



The important Second Afghan War C.B. group to Colonel G. N. Money, 3rd Sikh Infantry, late Bengal European Fusiliers, a leading member of the storming party at Delhi, who commanded the Sikhs in Afghanistan and was repeatedly mentioned in despatches

- (a) THE MOST HONOURABLE ORDER OF THE BATH (Military) C.B., 18 carat gold and enamels, hallmarked, London 1881, fitted with later gold loop suspension
- (b) THE ORDER OF ST JOHN OF JERUSALEM, Commander's neck badge, silver and enamel, maker's mark AP, some chips to white enamel
- (c) INDIAN MUTINY 1857-59, 2 clasps, Delhi, Lucknow (Lieut. G. N. Money, 1st Eurn. Bengal Fusrs.)
- (d) INDIA GENERAL SERVICE 1854-94, 2 clasps, Umbeyla, Jowaki 1877-8 (Lieut. G. N. Money, 3rd Punjab Infy.)
- (e) AFGHANISTAN 1878-80, 2 clasps, Kabul, Kandahar (Lt. Col. G. N. Money, C.B. 3rd Sikh Infy.)
- (f) KABUL TO KANDAHAR STAR 1880 (Lt. Col. G. N. Money, 3rd Sikh Infantry)
- (g) JUBILEE 1887, silver, unnamed as issued, contact marks but generally very fine and better (7) £3500-4500

Gerard Noel Money, the son of the Rev. James Drummond Money, rector of Sternfield, Saxmundham, Suffolk, and his first wife Charlotte, daughter of the Hon. and Rev. Gerard Noel, Prebendary of Winchester, was born on 17 February 1835. He was educated privately under the Rev. J.R. Crowfoot at Cambridge and the Rev. Henry Monk at Fordington. On 17 February 1853 he wrote to East India House declaring his 'intention to proceed to India by the overland route and to leave Southampton per ship *Indus* on 4 March'. Commissioned Ensign on 4 March 1853, he arrived in India on 16 April 1853 and did duty with the 37th Bengal Native Infantry prior to joining the 1st Bengal European Fusiliers with whom he served in Burma until 1854. He was promoted Lieutenant on 5 March 1856, and the next year served throughout the operations of the Delhi Field Force.

On 14 September 1857, the long awaited day of the assault on the city, he commanded 1 and 2 Companies of the Fusiliers, forming the first escalading party of Nicholson's No. 1 Storming Column. Having advanced over the 800 yards between Ludlow Castle and the battered Kashmir Bastion, it was found that the ditch in front was partly filled with rubble forming a slope up to the breach. Money, taking the place of a ladder man who had been killed, threw his ladder into the ditch and slid to the bottom with his men who 'scrambled up the other side like flies up a wall'. Under a hail of bullets and missiles from above, he caught hold of a man in front of him, put one foot on his pouch, climbed on to his shoulder, and was thus one of the first three men to top the wall.

'While the regiment was forming up inside the city,' Money recalled, 'I asked the Adjutant [Lieutenant Henry Wemyss (see Lot 53)] where we had to go, he showed me a narrow lane, saying we were to keep down this and along under the wall. I went up to the lane and found some of the Queen's 75th and 60th Rifles firing down it at a lot of niggers. I called out, "Come on boys. We've got to go down there." But they hesitated, saying it was full of men. So I said, "Well, you won't let me go alone, I know," and jumped over the barricade of boughs and ran down. Before I had gone ten yards a lot of men were alongside, and we charged along and took a battery of about six heavy guns.' This was the Kashmir Battery, and from here Money turned right along a lane below the ramparts, having been joined by Sergeant-Major Holford and some men belonging to Nos. 1, 2, and 3 Companies, who assumed that they were supported by the rest of the regiment under the C.O., Major George Jacob, who was in fact clearing rebel strongpoints near the Kashmir Gate.

Carrying on down the lane, Money came to a slope leading up to the ramparts, which he ascended to engage a number of mulineers in a spell of hard hand to hand fighting before they could pass. Pushing on towards the Mori Bastion, Money and his party saw a 12-pounder manned by rebels, who quickly turned it on them and began rapidly loading it with grape. A race developed between the gunners and the Fusiliers as to whether the latter could reach the gun before the former could fire. When within the last few yards, the Fusiliers saw the gunners jump aside and a port-fire being applied, the priming flashed but the gun was 'dumb'. It seemed that in their panic the gunners had forgotten to prick the cartridge. Expecting their assailants to be blown away the gunners remained at their posts, but within a couple of seconds found themselves being bayoneted.

'After this', Money continued, 'I went ahead of the men, and turning down a narrow place found myself in the Mori Bastion among about thirty Pandies. They bolted at first; but, seeing I was alone, came at me and I was obliged to retreat, calling out to the men who soon came up and we polished them nearly all off. But one of them proved more than a match for me and would have finished me if a man of my company had not rushed up with his bayonet.' Money's assailant attacked him with such speed that he had great difficulty in defending himself with his light regulation sword. His saviour was Private Patrick Flynn of No. 3 Company who charged the rebel with his bayonet. The rebel, however, evaded the thrust, and catching Flynn's musket under his left arm, brought a sword blow down over his head. But fortunately the impact of Flynn's charge had knocked the man off his feet, so that only the hilt struck him. Although half-stunned by the blow, falling backwards and dropping his musket, Flynn managed to punch the rebel hard between the eyes, and before he could recover, Money ran his sword through his body.

Money's account continues: 'I then saw another man hiding under a gun, and went towards him. The moment he saw me he jumped out and came at me. I warded off his blow and gave him a point, and the first resistance I felt was the hilt of my sword coming bump up against his breast while warm blood spurted over my hand. There were only about seven or eight men with me now, and we had gone so far ahead that the Pandies had closed all round us. I got a 6-pounder which was there, and loading it with grape, turned it on the entrance to the battery ... I then jumped on the parapet, and cheered as loud as I could, and was rather disgusted at being answered by a shower of grape from our advanced batteries [out on the plain]. Luckily I wasn't hit and, jumping down, I tied a blue and white turban to gether and fastening it to the end of a musket and bayonet, I jumped up and waved it. This brought a cheer from our batteries and a storm of shot from a line of Pandies which I then saw for the first time lining a breastwork between the Mori and our advanced troops. I got down and loaded a 24-pounder with grape, laid it and fired it. It knocked down a lot of them and the rest bolted ...'

At this point Money at last realised that he was unsupported, but fortunately a party of 9th Lancers appeared below. Their officer called up to enquire how things were going, and having been told by Money that he was hard pressed, he dismounted a dozen or so men who had been instructed in gunnery. Having clambered up to the Mori Bastion, the Lancer gunners turned the captured guns on the interior. The rebels made several determined attacks to regain their lost position, charging right up to the muzzle of a brass 6-pounder placed in an embrasure at the rear of the Mori. After the last of these attacks, Colonel Edward Greathed (see Lot 51), commanding the 8th Foot, came up with some of his men, as did some of the 75th, the 2nd Bengal Fusiliers and the Punjab Infantry. 'Colonel Greathed of the 8th Queen's was now in the battery' wrote Money, 'and seeing that I had lost my sword which had been stolen by a Sikh while I was laying the gun, he took a sword that had belonged to an officer of his regiment who had been killed just before, and gave it to me, saying, "Here, Money, this is one of our swords. If you use it as I saw you using your own a little while ago you will not disgrace it." Soon afterwards, Adjutant Wemyss appeared with regimental headquarters, which Money joined and 'went on to the Kabul Gate, and from there we made three charges at the Lahore Gate and Bastion. But we were driven back ... Anything I had been in before was child's play. I was hit by a about a dozen spent balls and bruised all over by them and by splinters, etc ... It was here that I saw about twelve officers knocked out in five minutes.'

Following the fall of Delhi, a brigade was formed under Colonel Gerrard of the Fusiliers to help re-establish order in the surrounding country. Lieutenant Money was appointed Gerrard's Brigade Major, and the column, comprising the 1st Bengal Fusiliers, two squadrons of the Carabineers, a troop of Bengal Horse Artillery, a Eurasian battery commanded by Colonel Henry Van Cortlandt (qv), the Guides, some Multani Horse and Sikh infantry, marched out on 10 November. The ensuing operations against the rebels of the Jodphur Legion, culminated in their defeat on the 16th at the Battle of Karnul. During the action, Money's horse was shot under him. Two shots fired from the cover of brushwood in a nullah nearby followed; one of them passing close to Money's head. Thinking that the shots had been fired by a Sikh, Money called out, "Look out where you're firing you nearly hit us!" Almost immediately afterwards two more shots were fired from the same place, and Gerrard, a conspicuous target 'resplendent in a redcoat covered with medals on a snow-white Arab horse', said, "'I've got it; I'm afraid I'm done for." Both his arms were hanging helpless by his side. Money quickly approaching helped him off his horse to a bank close by; and as he sat down he looked at his side, and said, "It's gone clean through me. I'm afraid I'm done for." Money, mounting Colonel Gerrard's horse, went to fetch Dr Brougham, who, as soon as he had examined the Colonel's wounds, said, "'I'm afraid, Colonel, there is no hope." "My poor wife, my poor children," was all he answered, and two hours afterwards he died, whilst the battle was still raging in front.'

Mentioned in despatches for services at Karnul, Money returned to the 1st Bengal Fusiliers as Adjutant. He next took part in the actions at Gungearee, Puttealee and Mainpuri under Brigadier Seaton who moved down from Delhi with 1900 men in December. He was also present at the Alumbagh operation and the final storm and capture of Lucknow, the affair at Baree and the subsequent operations in Oudh under Hope Grant (Ritchie 1-110). In 1860 Money was appointed Barrack Master at Mooltan and the following year was transferred to the Bengal Staff Corps.

In 1863, he took part in the Umbeyla Campaign, under Neville Chamberlain (qv), as Adjutant and second in command of the 3rd Punjab Infantry. Promoted Captain in 1865 and Major in 1873, he served with the 3rd Sikh Infantry in the expedition against the Jowaki Afridis of 1877-78, taking part in the assault and capture of Jummo by Brigadier Keyes's Kohat Column on 1 December 1877, and was thanked by Keyes in his despatch published in General Orders (No.738 of 9 August 1878): 'Major G.N. Money, 2nd-in-Command, 3rd Sikh Infantry, who joined his Regiment from furlough just before the attack on Jammu and commanded it with much spirit on that occasion. Subsequently he rendered valuable service by establishing heliographic communication between different posts, the apparatus for which he had purchased and brought from England at his own expense.'

He was promoted Lieutenant-Colonel in March 1879, and officiated as Commandant of the 3rd Sikhs during the absence of Colonel Mocatta from 1 February of that year. Following the renewal of the Second Afghan War in September 1879, Money was appointed by Lieutenant-General Sir Frederick Roberts to the command of a combined force, consisting of the 3rd Sikhs, the 21st Punjab Native Infantry and No.1 Mountain Battery, and ordered to hold Shutargardan Pass by which communications with the Kurram Valley and India were kept open. On 2 October he defeated an enemy body of some 2,500 who were observed putting up breastworks on a high ridge of hills between Shutargardan and the Surkai Post, some 1,000 yards away, by despatching 200 rifles of the 3rd Sikhs and 100 rifles of the 21st Punjab Infantry.

On 14 October the Surkai Post was attacked by some 4,000 tribesmen, but this was only a feint, and the enemy's real objective was one of the hills from which they had been ejected on 2 October. 'Colonel Money with 100 rifles and 2 mountain guns started from Camp and gained the ridge just as the enemy's advance party was nearing the top and drove them down. The main body of the enemy were being followed by the party under Major Griffiths, consisting now of 100 rifles, 3rd Sikhs, 200 rifles, 21st Punjab Infantry, and 2 guns.

The enemy, seeing their plan foiled, took up a position on a hill about a mile north west of the Surkai Kotal Post, from which they were only driven after a well contested fight of two hours duration and a bayonet charge. The enemy left 60 dead at their *sangas* [breastworks] and were followed up for two miles when they got out of range.' On this occasion Lieutenant Walter Cook (Ritchie 1-113) especially distinguished himself and was recommended by Money for the Victoria Cross.

With the arrival of early snow on the Shutargardan, Roberts decided to pull Money's force into Kabul. On the 15th, Money withdrew the Surkai Post but was besieged for the next three days by tribesmen whose numbers having grown daily were now estimated at 17,000. Fortunately, however, Roberts had despatched Brigadier-General Hugh Gough to his aid. 'The reinforcement arrived at a most opportune moment', wrote Lord Roberts, 'when the augmented tribal combination, imagining that the garrison was completely at its mercy, had sent a message to Money offering to spare their lives if their laid down their arms! So sure were the Afghans of their triumph that they had brought 200 of their women to witness it. On Gough's arrival, Money dispersed the gathering, and his force left the Shutargardan ... and afterwards proved a most useful addition to the Kabul Field Force.'

Gough reached the Shutargardan on the 20th and next day punitive action was taken against some Chilzai villages whose inhabitants had plundered several convoys and joined in the recent attacks. The Shutargardan was abandoned on the 30th and following the regiment's arrival at Kabul via the Logar valley on 4 November, Money received a congratulatory telegram from the Viceroy: 'I am very pleased with your defence of the Shutrgurdan [sic]. Pray accept my thanks and convey the same to the officers and men who have all assisted you so gallantly.' And from the Commander-in-Chief: 'The Queen-Empress desires to express to her gallant troops her sorrow for those who fell in their action [at Charasia] and in the recent brilliant exploit at Shutrgurdan [sic].'

On 8 December, after Mohamed Jan had emerged at the head of an Afghan army of 45,000 men, Money commanded his regiment in Macpherson's brigade, which camped on the Arghandeh road in order to prevent a junction between the Kohistanis and Maidanies. The former were engaged on the 10th six miles away at Surkh Kotal and driven from their positions. That night Money remained on picket duty in the Surkh Kotal hills with the left wing of the regiment and a company of H.M.'s 67th Foot. On the morning of the 11th Money joined the right wing of the regiment as it marched out with the brigade from camp to attack the Afghans massing in the Chardeh Valley, and left orders with Major Griffiths to pack the baggage and place it in charge of the rear guard before hurrying on with the left wing of the regiment to rejoin him. Macpherson's brigade duly attack the enemy's rear on the plain and though unable to prevent the guns of Massy's brigade being overrun, later in the day recaptured them. That evening, after several anxious hours when it looked as if the Mohamed Jan might make for the Sherpur Cantonment instead of the hills that dominated the city, Money was ordered back from Mizra whence he had chased a large body of Afghan infantry from the Chardeh plain, and was instructed to hold the village of Deh-i-Mazang covering the gorge of the same name for the night.

Next morning Roberts directed Macpherson to clear the crest of the Takht-i-Shah. Macpherson deputed the task to Money and detached a force totalling two guns and 560 British and Native Infantry. The hill proved a most formidable position to attack, and after persistent attempts had been made, Roberts ordered the assault to be deferred. The General had learnt that the enemy were being reinforced from the rear, and decided to wait until Brigadier-General T. D. Baker (see Lot 105) arrived next morning so that an attack from both front and rear could be made simultaneously. The hill was eventually taken, Colour Sergeant Yule (Ritchie 1-116) of the 72nd Highlanders being the first man to the top. Immediately afterwards Roberts signalled Baker from Sherpur to leave a party on the peak under Money and to move himself towards the cantonment with the rest of his troops. On the 14th with the general retirement into Sherpur, Money and the right wing of the 3rd Sikhs had a most difficult time. The enemy took possession of the peak as soon as his men retired and kept up a galling fire under which the Kabul River was reached. 'From this point into Sherpur the right wing was exposed to fire from the Asmai heights as well as from the garden walls under the city, and it was only the ample cover afforded by the walls bordering the lanes that rendered the retirement feasible and enabled the wing to reach Sherpur in safety.'

On the retirement of Colonel Mocatta on 10 December 1879, Money became Commandant of the 3rd Sikhs, and subsequently served in the defence of the Sherpur cantonment. In May 1880 Money took his regiment, now serving as part of Baker's brigade, into the Logar Valley to collect supplies. On the 15th he commanded a force, comprising 3rd Sikhs, 2nd Gurkhas and two mountain guns, which destroyed Padshah Khan's village. In August 1880, Money commanded his regiment in Lord Roberts' famous march from Kabul to Kandahar, and was present on 1 September at the defeat of Ayub Khan. In the latter action Money and the right wing of the regiment, 'coming across a battery of five guns in position charged and took it - the enemy firing over the head of the attack fled in confusion. The advance continued, the enemy scattering in all directions till the camp was reached, when firing ceased'. In October and November, Money commanded his regiment in the arduous Marri expedition which was marked by many long marches of up to thirty-six hours duration and a general scarcity of water. For his services in the Second Afghan War, Money was 'repeatedly mentioned in despatches' and was made a Companion of the Bath. He was promoted full Colonel in October 1882 and went on the Reserve two months later. On 9 January 1885 he was admitted to the Honourable Corps of Gentlemen-at-Arms, the Body Guard of the Sovereign, in which he served until his death in London on 11 February 1895.

Refs: Hodson Index (NAM); IOL L/MIL/10/87; IOL L/MIL/9/229 f.72-82; The History of the Bengal European Regiment (Innes); Historical Records of the 3rd Sikh Infantry, 1847-1930 (Shepherd); The Great Mutiny (Hibbert); Forty-One Years in India (Roberts); The Afghan Campaign of 1878-1880 (Shadbolt); The Second Afghan War (Hanna); Hart's Army List.



The outstanding campaign group to General Sir E. F. Chapman, K.C.B., Royal Artillery, Lord Roberts' Chief of Staff and Quarter-Master of the Kabul to Kandahar Field Force, who later introduced the brothel system for British soldiers in India and became Master Gunner of St James's Park

(a) THE ORDER OF ST JOHN OF JERUSALEM, Esquire's breast badge, silver and enamel, maker's mark AP, white enamel badly chipped

(b) ABYSSINIA 1867 (Lieut. E. F. Chapman, 21st Bde. R.A.)

(c) AFGHANISTAN 1878-80, 2 clasps, Ahmed Khel, Kandahar (Bt. Lieut: Col: E. F. Chapman, R.A.)

(d) KABUL TO KANDAHAR STAR 1880 (Bt. Lt. Col. E. F. Chapman, Ryl. Artillery)

(e) INDIA GENERAL SERVICE 1854-94, 1 clasp, Burma 1885-87 (Major Genl. E. F. Chapman, R.A.)

(f) JUBILEE 1887, clasp, 1897, silver, unnamed as issued, silver medals cleaned and lacquered, contact marks and pitting generally, otherwise nearly very fine and better (6) £2500-3000

Edward Francis Chapman, the son of Henry Chapman of Woodford, Essex, was born on 14 November 1840, and was commissioned Second Lieutenant in the Royal Artillery on 12 June 1858. In 1867-68 he served in the Abyssinian Expedition as A.D.C. to the officer commanding the Royal Artillery, and was mentioned in despatches (*London Gazette* 30 June 1868). Promoted Captain in 1872, Major in 1878 and Lieutenant-Colonel in 1879, he served in both campaigns of the Second Afghan War, firstly as Assistant-Quartermaster-General to Sir Donald Stewart's Kandahar Field Force, which on the invasion of Afghanistan in 1878 occupied Kandahar and Kelat-i-Ghilzie. In early 1880 it was also decided that all the Bengal troops should be concentrated at Kabul and their places at Kandahar be taken by troops from the Bombay Presidency. As soon as the hand over was complete, Stewart left Kandahar with Chapman as D.A.Q.M.G. on 29 March 1880 with 7,000 men of the Ghazni and North Afghanistan Field Force to open up communications with Kabul where Roberts had wintered in the Sherpur cantonment.

On 19 April 1880 Chapman was present on the line of march when Stewart was attacked twenty-three miles south of Ghazni by 15,000 Afghan horse and foot, who swept down from a long undulating ridge near Ahmed Khel. The Afghan onslaught put the British under extreme pressure and it was only Colonel Lyster's success in rapidly forming his regiment, the 3rd Gurkhas, into company squares at the critical moment that saved the day. Colonel H. S. Anderson (qv) tried to emulate the tactic at Maiwand but failed with tragic results. British losses at Ahmed Khel were 17 killed and 115 wounded whilst the Afghans suffered 1,000 dead and in excess of 2,000 wounded. Ghazni was occupied by Stewart's cavalry without a shot being fired shortly afterwards, and on 22 April the force had another encounter six miles south east of Ghazni at Arzu where Chapman was also present. Arzu was principally an artillery engagement carried out to dislodge a party of the enemy who had taken post there and in the village of Shalez. In May the Ghazni Field Force became the Third Division of the Kabul Field Force and moved into the fertile Logar valley near Kabul where it remained in occupation until the policy of withdrawal from northern Afghanistan was put into effect.

Following the British disaster at the Battle of Maiwand west of Kandahar, Roberts at Kabul received authorization on 3 August from the Viceroy, Lord Ripon, to march to the relief of the Kandahar garrison which was now besieged by the victorious Ayub Khan. Chapman was appointed Chief of Staff to Roberts's Kabul-Kandahar Field Force which made its epic march of three hundred and thirteen miles between 9 and 31 August 1880. The approach of Roberts's force caused considerable dread in southern Afghanistan, and by this time Ayub himself was anxious to depart for home in Herat realising there was little more that he could achieve. His escape route, however, was blocked by the warlike Zamindawar clans. In an article describing the march to Kandahar, published in *Blackwood's Magazine* in February 1902 (p.260 *et seq.*), Chapman commented on the deserted nature of the countryside, which, of course, as Quartermaster he found exasperating in the extreme: 'After leaving Khelat-i-Ghilzai we found the entire country deserted; the villages for a hundred miles had been abandoned, and the people had gone, taking flocks and herds and household goods, but burying their precious things, with grain and flour, in the fields, under the hearths, or even under dung-hills, hiding them in the roofs of their houses ...'



Two marches on from Khelat, Roberts learned that Ayub Khan had raised the siege of Kandahar and had withdrawn to the left bank of the Argundab. The news was a day or two old, and as his movements depended on the enemy's he sent ahead Brigadier-General Hugh Gough with a small force to Robat where heliograph communications were to be opened with General Primrose in Kandahar and the actual state of affairs in and around the city were to be ascertained. Roberts would have gone as well but he was prostrated with fever, and so he sent Chapman instead. Riding rapidly Gough reached Robat at midday on the 28th, flashed his presence to Kandahar and received in return the welcome news that Ayub was still close to the city - intelligence which Chapman quickly sent back to Roberts, who later wrote, 'On the advice of Lieutenant-Colonel Chapman, whose intimate acquaintance with the neighbourhood of Kandahar gained while serving on Sir Donald Stewart's staff, was now most valuable to me, I determined to take up a position to the west of the city, with my right on the cantonment and my left touching Old Kandahar. This enabled me to cover the city, gave me command of a good supply of water, and placed me within striking distance of Ayub Khan's camp.' On 31 August, the eve of the battle of Kandahar, Chapman was again detached from the main force to reconnoitre Ayub's strongly entrenched position north of the city, and in Roberts' words 'was of great assistance to Brigadier-General Gough'.

For services in the Second Afghan War, Chapman received a Brevet Lieutenant-Colonelcy, and was twice mentioned in despatches. In 1881 he was further rewarded with a C.B., and that same year appointed an A.D.C. to the Queen, and Military Secretary, with the rank of full Colonel, to the Commander-in-Chief in India, Sir Donald Stewart. In 1885-86 he served in the Burma expedition, and between 1885-89 was Quartermaster-General, India. While Q.M.G. he introduced a system of organised native brothels for British Other Ranks in the hope of reducing the incidence of V.D. Promoted Major-General in 1889 and Lieutenant-General 1893, he was Director of Military Intelligence at the War Office, 1891-96, and G.O.C., Scotland, in 1896-1901. He became General on 15 March 1896 and was appointed a Knight Commander of the Bath on 6 May 1906. General Chapman reached the apogee of his branch in 1913, being appointed Master Gunner of St. James's Park. He died on 12 May 1926.

Refs: Debrett's Peerage, Baronetage, Knightage and Companionage, 1921; Roberts In India, The Military Papers of Field Marshal Lord Roberts 1876-1893; The Second Afghan War (Hanna); The Afghan Campaign of 1878-1880 (Shadbolt); Forty-One Years in India (Roberts).



The important campaign group to Lieutenant-General Sir Thomas Durand Baker, K.C.B., 18th Royal Irish Regiment, commanding 2nd Infantry Brigade of the Kandahar Field Force, later Adjutant-General in India

- (a) CRIMEA 1854-56, 1 clasp, Sebastopol (Lieut. T. D. Baker, 18th Royal Irish Regt.) contemporary engraved naming
- (b) NEW ZEALAND 1845-66, reverse dated '1863 to 1865' (Capt. & Bt. Mjr. T. D. Baker, 2nd Bn. 18th RI. Irish Regt.)
- (c) ASHANTEE 1873-74, 1 clasp, Coomassie (Lt. Col. T. D. Baker, C.B. 18th RI. Irish)
- (d) AFGHANISTAN 1878-80, 3 clasps, Charasia, Kabul, Kandahar (Br. General Sir T. D. Baker, K.C.B. 2nd Inftry. Bde.)
- (e) KABUL TO KANDAHAR STAR 1880 (Brigadier General T. D. Baker)
- (f) INDIA GENERAL SERVICE 1854-94, 1 clasp, Burma 1885-87 (Major Genl. Sir. T. D. Baker, Adj. Genl. in India)
- (g) TURKISH CRIMEA, Sardinian issue, unnamed contemporary tailor's copy
- (h) AL VALORE MILITARE, Spedizione D'Oriente 1855 1856, mint mark FG (Lieutt. Thomas Durand Baker, 18th Regt.) *the silver medals cleaned and lacquered, contact marks but generally nearly very fine or better and an outstanding combination of medals (8)* £6000-8000

Ex Glendining, April 1971, when sold with K.C.B. set and a second Ashantee medal named as 'Capt. Commander of Armed Police, Cape Coast Castle'.

Thomas Durand Baker, the second son of Reverend John Durand Baker, vicar of Bishop's Tawton, North Devon, was born at Court of Hill, Shropshire, on 23 March 1837, and was educated at Cheltenham. He was commissioned Ensign by purchase in H.M.'s 18th Royal Irish Regiment on 18 August 1854 and joined his regiment in the Crimea, being present at the siege of Sebastopol, where for zeal in the trenches he was mentioned in despatches and awarded the Sardinian medal for 'gallantry displayed at the attack of the cemetery and suburbs of Sebastopol on the 18th of June 1855'.

Following the fall of the fortress on 8 September 1855, he returned with the the Royal Irish to the Curragh as Lieutenant. In November 1857 he embarked with the Royal Irish for service in the suppression of the Indian Mutiny, and took part in the pursuit of Tantia Tope in Central India with the Field Force under Colonel Beatson, though this service did not qualify for a medal. Promoted Captain on 26 October 1858, he attended the Staff College and passed out in 1862. The following year he accompanied the newly raised 2nd Battalion to New Zealand where he served as Deputy Assistant Adjutant-General to the forces from March 1864 to March 1866.

During the Maori War of 1864-66, he took part in the Waikato and Wanganui campaigns. He served as Assistant Military Secretary to Lieutenant-General Sir Duncan Cameron at the action of Rangiawhia on 20 November 1863, receiving on this occasion one of his many mentions in despatches. Indeed so numerous were Baker's mentions in New Zealand that the author of *The Campaigns and History of the Royal Irish Regiment* summed them up by saying he was so constantly mentioned in despatches throughout the war that it is unnecessary to record the fact after each affair in which he was engaged. However, special note might be made of his mention for his conduct at the unsuccessful attack on Orakau on 31 March 1864, when he led one of three assaulting columns - 'On Captain Ring's falling, Captain Baker, 18th Royal Irish, Deputy Assistant Adjutant-General, galloped up, dismounted and calling for volunteers, again endeavoured to carry the place by assault' (*London Gazette* 14 June 1864). For services in New Zealand Baker was promoted Brevet Major.

On 2 October 1873, Baker became Assistant Adjutant and Quartermaster-General of the expedition to Ashanti and accompanied Sir Garnet Wolseley to the Gold Coast. He served throughout the campaign and was present at the action of Essaman on 14 October, the relief of Abrakampa in early November, and in the battles of Amoafu on 31 January 1874 and Ordahsu on 4 February. Baker, who performed the additional duties of Chief of Staff, was mentioned in despatches by Wolseley who referred to him as possessing 'every quality of what is valuable to the staff officer'. He was rewarded for services in West Africa with a C.B. and promotion to the rank of Brevet Lieutenant-Colonel. On his return to England, he was appointed a Deputy Assistant Quartermaster-General on the Staff in London in May 1874, and in November 1875, an Assistant Adjutant-General. In 1877 he was promoted Colonel in the army and was appointed an Aide-de-Camp to the Queen and, later the same year, he was attached to the Russian army then engaged in the Russo-Turkish War.

In November 1878 Baker was posted to India as Military Secretary to the Viceroy, Lord Lytton, and was at Simla when news of the murder of Sir Louis Cavagnari at Kabul was received in September 1879. Sir Frederick Roberts was also at Simla on leave from his division in the Kurram Valley, and before hastening back to Afghanistan, he went to see the Commander-in-Chief and asked him for several 'tried men' to fill the higher posts of his command. Lytton's other Military Secretary, Macpherson, was selected for the command of the 1st Infantry Brigade of the Kabul Field Force, while Baker was given command of the 2nd Infantry Brigade of the Kabul F.F., comprising, 72nd Highlanders, 5th Gurkhas, 5th Punjab Infantry, 3rd Sikhs and the 23rd Pioneers. On 5 October Roberts reached the village of Charasia, about twelve miles from Kabul, in the Logar Valley with Baker's brigade. In the afternoon intelligence was brought to him by an escaped native servant of Cavagnari's. The servant told him that the citizens of Kabul were arming themselves; that Afghan regulars were drawing supplies of ammunition from the city arsenal; and that troops were moving out in his direction. Towards evening groups of men appeared on the skyline above the British camp, indicating that the tribes were also gathering in strength.

Next morning British cavalry patrols advanced into the Sang-i-Nawishta (Carved in Stone) Gorge through which flowed the Logar River, and reported regular Afghan troops placing guns on the surrounding heights. Macpherson's brigade was still a march behind, but Roberts realised that 'the numbers of the enemy were momentarily increasing, so delay would assuredly make matters worse'. Roberts then sent a message to the cavalry to dismount and engage the enemy with carbine fire, and sent them a small reinforcement of three horse artillery guns, a wing of the Gordon Highlanders, 100 Native Infantry, and a squadron of Native cavalry, giving the impression that the main attack was to be delivered in this direction. However, the Afghan position and natural defences were so strong here on the enemy's left, that Roberts had decided to make the real attack on their right.

Roberts wrote: 'The men having made a hasty breakfast, I despatched General Baker in this direction, and placing at his disposal two guns, No. 2 Mountain Battery, two Gatling guns, detachment 12th Bengal Cavalry, 72nd Highlanders, 5th Gurkhas (300 rifles), 5th Punjab Infantry (200 rifles), No. 7 Company Sappers and Miners. I entrusted to him the difficult task of dislodging the enemy, while I continued to distract their attention towards the gorge by making a feint to their left. Baker's little force advanced to the left, the party near the Sang-i-Nawishta Gorge, commanded by Major White, of the 92nd Highlanders, was ordered to threaten the pass and prevent the enemy occupying any portion of the Charasia village, to advance within Artillery range of the enemy's main position above the gorge, and when the outflanking movement had been thoroughly developed and the enemy were in full retreat, but not before, to push the Cavalry through the gorge and pursue.'

'At about 11.30 a.m. Baker's leading troops emerged into the open, and were immediately engaged with a crowd of armed Afghans, supported by a considerable body of Regular troops. The General now sent one company of 72nd, under Captain Hunt, to turn the Afghans off a succession of peaks situated at right angles to the ridge they were occupying on their extreme right. Running along this ridge, and stretching across the Indiki road to the sandhills, the Afghan right wing held a line considerably in advance of their left on the hill above the Sang-i-Nawishta gorge, and one which could not easily be turned, for the peaks the 72nd were sent to occupy were almost inaccessible, and the fire from them swept the slopes up which our troops must advance. These peaks, therefore, formed the key of the position, and their defenders had to be dislodged from them at all hazards before anything else could be attempted. The company of the 72nd with much difficulty fought their way up, and gained a footing on the first peak, where they were obliged to pause, until reinforced by two companies of the 5th Gurkhas under Captain Cook, V.C. [Richie 1-112]; when they advanced all together, clearing the enemy from each successive point, while the remainder of the 72nd breasted the hill, and, under cover of the Mountain guns, attacked the position in front. But the enemy were obstinate, and the extremely difficult nature of the ground somewhat checked the gallant Highlanders. Seeing their dilemma Baker despatched two companies of the 5th Gurkhas, under Lieutenant-Colonel Fitzhugh, and 200 men of the 5th Punjab Infantry, under Captain Hall, to their assistance; while the 23rd Pioneers were brought up on the right, in support, and a detachment of the 5th Punjab Infantry, on the left of the line.'

The Afghan commander now began to realise the real point of the attack, and started to reinforce his right, but the 72nd Highlanders, supported by the Gurkhas, could no longer be resisted and with the arrival of Major White and two companies of the 92nd on the enemy's left, they were driven back to a position 600 yards in their rear. Here they put up a stubborn resistance but were again forced to retreat by Baker's brigade and a flank attack by two companies of the 92nd under Captain Oxley.

'Baker now paused to allow of the Infantry's ammunition being replenished, and then advanced along the right towards the pass, which he reached in time to help the Cavalry who were engaged with the enemy's rear guard at the river; the latter were driven off and forced to retreat; but by this time the growing darkness made further pursuit impossible'. That night Baker's brigade held both ends of the Sang-i-Nawishta defile, and bivouacked there for the night. British casualties at Charasia were remarkably few - eighteen killed and seventy wounded. The Afghans suffered 400 killed and many more wounded, besides the loss of twenty guns.

Following the occupation of Kabul, Baker was sent in November to Maidan on the Kabul Ghazni road where he repulse an attack before returning to the capital. On 8 December he commanded another force between Arghandeh and Maidan, which co-operating with other columns under Macpherson and Massy tried to entrap the enemy and break up the powerful tribal 'combination'. The attempt ended in disaster on the 11th with the failure of Massy, and Baker and his column returned to Kabul, where, on 13 December, he was joined by Colonel Noel Money (see Lot 103) in a two pronged attack against the Afghans on the precipitous Takht-i-Shah hill. Next day he attacked the enemy on the Asmai heights, but in the face of superior numbers, was forced with all other British troops into the defensive position at Sherpur. On the 23rd the Afghans attacked, but were completely defeated. Shortly afterwards, Baker led an expedition into Kohistan and destroyed a fortified post.

With the news of the defeat at Maiwand in July 1880, Baker was appointed to the command of the 2nd Infantry Brigade which, as part of Ross's Infantry Division, made the celebrated Kabul to Kandahar march. On 1 September, Baker's brigade played a prominent part in the defeat of Ayub Khan at the battle of Kandahar. For services in Afghanistan, Baker was mentioned in despatches (*London Gazette* 16 January, 4 May & 3 December, 1880) and was promoted to a Knight Commander of the Bath.

In March 1881, he was appointed to the command of the base and line of communications in the projected campaign against the Boers in South Africa, but the Government having decided to conclude an armistice, he returned to England in September. On 1 April 1882, he was appointed Deputy Quartermaster-General in Ireland, and on 3 September Deputy Adjutant-General in Ireland.

He returned to India as a Major-General in 1884, and two years later served in the Burmese expedition, again being mentioned in despatches (*London Gazette* 2 September 1887). The command of a division in Bengal followed, and in 1890 he was recalled to fill the post of Quartermaster-General to the Forces at the Horse Guards. After seven months in that important appointment he was advanced to the rank of Lieutenant-General, and in June of the following year he received a good service pension.

In 1893 he took leave of absence from the War Office and after a brief illness, was visiting Pau in the south west of France, when he died of dropsy on 9 February. Next day his obituary in the *London Times* stated: 'As a soldier Sir Thomas combined the qualities of a dashing, yet prudent, commanding officer with those required in the higher posts of military administration. Whether he had the capacities required for the supreme command of an army in the field is a question on which there may be some difference of opinion, but it must at least be admitted that few Englishmen of the present generation have seen so much active service, and that in all the campaigns in which he took part he acquitted himself with distinction. His name may not be associated with distinction. His name may not be associated with any great military reforms, and may not suggest any great originality or powerful initiation, but he at least performed ably and conscientiously the administrative duties intrusted to him. In private life he was a general favourite, though in recent years his naturally genial and hospitable disposition was sometimes overclouded by prolonged fits of depression.'

Refs: *Modern English Biography* (Boase); *Dictionary of National Biography*; *The Times*; *Hart's Army List*; *The Campaigns and History of the Royal Irish Regiment*; WO 25/831/2; WO 25/846/2.



The Second Afghan War medal to Captain St J. T. Frome, 72nd Highlanders, who was killed in action at the battle of Kandahar

AFGHANISTAN 1878-80, 4 clasps, Peiwar Kotal, Charasia, Kabul, Kandahar (Capt. St. J. T. Frome, 72nd Highrs.)
good very fine £4000-5000



St. John Thomas Frome, the scion of an old Dorsetshire family, was the son of General Frome, Colonel Commandant of the Royal Engineers, and was commissioned Ensign in H.M.'s 72nd (Duke of Albany's Own) Highlanders by purchase on 22 February 1861. Promoted Lieutenant, also by purchase on 19 April 1864, he became a company commander in April 1872, and was advanced to the rank of Captain two months later.

In October 1878, Frome proceeded with the 72nd Highlanders from Saikot to join Roberts' Kurram Valley Field Force on the Afghan border. On the bitterly cold night of 1-2 December, following the reconnaissance of Peiwar Kotal which revealed batteries of Afghan guns positioned to rake the the whole pass, Frome and his company led the regiment in support of the 5th Gurkhas in the flanking movement up the boulder-strewn slopes of Spin Gawi (White Cow Pass) in order to take by surprise the Afghans at top of the Peiwar Kotal at dawn. At 6 a.m. the Gurkhas found themselves confronted by an eight-foot high stockade of felled trees from which the Afghan picquets opened fire. Lord Roberts, who accompanied the force, later wrote:

'The Gurkhas, forgetting their fatigue, rapidly climbed the steep side of the mountain, and swarming into the first entrenchment, quickly cleared it of the enemy; then, guided by the flashes of the Afghan rifles, they pressed on, and being joined by the leading company of the 72nd [Frome's], took possession of a second larger entrenchment 200 yards higher up. Without a perceptible pause, the Highlanders and Gurkhas together rushed a third position, the most important of all, as it commanded the head of the pass.'

For his services on this occasion Frome was favourably mentioned in despatches. Thereafter he was with the advanced troops quartered at Ali Khel on the Kurram line. Following the massacre of Cavagnari and his staff and escort, the 72nd formed part of the 2nd Infantry Brigade, under Brigadier-General T. D. Baker (see lot 105), and took part in the advance on Kabul. Frome was recommended for his conduct at Charasia, and subsequently took part in operations around the city; the occupation and defence of the Sherpur cantonments; and the memorable march from Kabul to Kandahar in August 1880.

Before Kandahar at 9.30 a.m. on 1 September 1880, the 72nd in Baker's column came up against stubborn resistance 'in crossing a plain cut up by watercourses and thickly set with willow trees, and in threading its way through walled and loopholed enclosures, and the narrow lanes of Gundigan'. 'The brunt of the fighting in this part of the field was borne by the 2nd Sikhs under Colonel Boswell, and the 72nd Highlanders under Colonel Brownlow, both regiments having frequently to fix bayonets to carry positions, or to check the bold rushes of Afghans. Their courage and determination were crowned with complete success, but the Highlanders lost their gallant commander, also Captain St J. T. Frome and Lance-Sergeant Cameron ... and had many killed and wounded.'

Frome's memorial in the *Biographical Division* of S. H. Shadbolt's *The Afghan Campaign* concludes: 'Sir Frederick Roberts, in his Field Order issued after the battle of Kandahar, speaks of Captain Frome as "a gallant and distinguished soldier"; and in his address to the 72nd and 92nd Highlanders, delivered on leaving India, after paying a just tribute to the memory of Colonel Brownlow, late commanding the 72nd, he adds: "With him fell an equally gallant spirit, Captain Frome." Similar testimony is borne by his brother officers, by whom his loss as a proved friend and true soldier, is sincerely regretted; and one of high rank, under whom he served during the Afghan campaign, thus writes of him: - "He was an excellent officer, and the coolness and gallantry with which he always led his company into action was the admiration of all who were ever with him under fire.'

Refs: The Afghan Campaign of 1878-1880 (Shadbolt); Forty-One Years in India (Roberts); The Second Afghan War (Hanna).



The rare ‘Hazara’ C.S.I. group to Colonel E. L. Ommanney, Bengal Staff Corps, Superintendent of the ex-King of Delhi and his family, later Chief Political Officer on the Hazara Expedition in 1888

(a) THE MOST EXALTED ORDER OF THE STAR OF INDIA, C.S.I., Companion’s breast badge, gold, silver and enamels, with fine central cameo of Queen Victoria, the surrounding motto set with small diamonds, complete with gold top suspension bar

(b) INDIAN MUTINY 1857-59, 1 clasp, Delhi (Lieut. E. L. Ommanney, 59th N.I.)

(c) INDIA GENERAL SERVICE 1854-94, 2 clasps, North West Frontier, Hazara 1888 (Capt. E. L. Ommanney, Bengal S.C.) note spelling of surname on both medals, original ‘court’ mounting by *Spink & Son Ltd, Piccadilly*, and contained in a contemporary *Spink* carrying case, extremely fine, a group of outstanding quality and rarity (3)
£6000-7000

Edward Lacon Ommanney was born at Cherrapoonjee, Assam, on 24 August 1834. He was the eldest son of Major-General Edward Lacon Ommanney, R.E., and was educated at Bedford Grammar School, the Civil Engineering College, Putney, and Owens College, Manchester. He arrived in India in 1852 and served in the Opium Department of the Patna Agency. In 1855 he entered the Bengal Army and was commissioned into the 59th Native Infantry, which corps was disarmed at Amritsar on 9 July 1857, but stayed loyal. Ommanney was then attached to the forces of the Rajah of Jind who had offered the British the resources of his state.

The ‘Jheend Raja’s Contingent’ moved down from the Punjab and operated in the rear of the British position before Delhi from June onwards, garrisoning the post at Rhai. But, while the loyalty of the Rajah was beyond doubt and his troops deemed ‘first-rate men’, he was ‘not much of a soldier himself’, and never liked to be far from European troops. In early September the Contingent arrived on the Ridge, and the Rajah boldly requested that his men might be prominently employed when the assault on the city went in. John Nicholson attached them to the fifth reserve column.

Following the capture of Bahadur Shah II, the eighty-two year-old King of Delhi by William Hodson, the authorities chose to humiliate him by appointing an officer of low rank to look after him, and Ommanney was selected. The ex-king was something of a curiosity for Europeans visiting the city. Hodson’s widow was one who saw him in his small room lying on the grass ropes of his bamboo charpoy smoking a hookah. She was ‘almost ashamed’ to see ‘a man recently Lord of an imperial city almost unparalleled for riches and magnificence, confined in a low, close dirty room which the lowest slave would scarcely have occupied’. William Howard Russell of the *Times* was also moved to pity at the sight of this ‘dim-wandering-eyed, dreamy old man, with feeble hanging nether lip and toothless gums’.

Besides the king, Ommanney was also responsible for various members of the royal family who included Bahadur Shah’s son by a concubine, Jawan Bakht; and his favourite but now most unwilling young wife Zinat Mahal, who at this juncture considered her husband, ‘a troublesome, nasty, cross old fellow’. In early 1858, the ‘Ruler of the Universe’ was put on trial before a military court, accused of having abetted the mutineers in their crimes, of ‘not regarding his allegiance’ as a British subject, and of having allowed himself to be proclaimed ‘the reigning king and sovereign of India’. The outcome was never in doubt and the ex-king, who sat through the greater part of the trial with his eyes closed in a state of ever increasing lethargy, was found guilty on 29 March on all charges and sentenced to spend the rest of his life in exile in Burma. The king, however, was not informed as to his ultimate destination, and was only told that he was to go to Calcutta. In October an escort was detailed to accompany Ommanney’s charges who were to travel in three carriages, followed by five carts for the baggage and the twenty male and female servants permitted to accompany them.

'The cortège left Delhi at an early hour on 7 October and moved slowly across northern India. Lieutenant Ommanney found the speed much to his liking, even though he had to rise at 1.30 a.m. in order to get the party organised for the road. This he found 'rather hard', especially as he did not manage to return to his tent for breakfast until 9 a.m. "But," he assured the commissioner at Delhi, "I don't care a straw for the amount of work and am very jolly. I am Honorary Member of the Lancers Mess, breakfast, dinner, and tiffin, good stags at dinner twice a week, a pack of Hounds accompany the column on the march, and we have a run when we succeed in getting a jackal, there is a Hook[ah] Club and in short it is as comfortable and perfectly managed as any.' At Allahabad Ommanney's party embarked on a 'flat' attached to a steamer travelling down to Calcutta, and there transferred to an ocean going steamer bound for Rangoon, which was reached on 9 November. Shortly afterwards Ommanney's request to relinquish his charge of the prisoners was granted and he returned to the Punjab Commission to which he had been appointed an Assistant Commissioner on 9 June 1858.

In 1861 Ommanney was transferred to the Bengal Staff Corps, and spent almost all of his subsequent service in civil employ on the North West Frontier. Promoted Captain in 1867, Major in 1875, Lieutenant-Colonel in 1881, and full Colonel in 1885, he held appointments as personal assistant to the Commissioners of Peshawar and Derajat, and later successively became Commissioner of Mooltan, Derajat and Peshawar himself. Among other expeditions, he accompanied, in October 1868, Major-General Wilde's expedition against the Bazotee Black Mountain Tribes as Deputy Commissioner of Hazara; and the Black Mountain Expedition of October - November 1888 brought about by the murders of Major Legh Batty, Captain Urmiston, and five Sepoys, who were killed while surveying in Akazai territory. For services as Chief Political Officer to the latter expedition he was decorated with the insignia of a Companion of the Order of the Star of India. Colonel Ommanney retired in 1893, returned to England, and died on 3 April 1914.

Refs: Who Was Who; Red Year (Edwardes).



The Central Africa campaign medal to Sepoy Dasunda Singh, 23rd Bengal Infantry

CENTRAL AFRICA 1891-98, no clasp, ring suspension (2833 Sepoy Dasunda Singh, 23d Bl. Infy.) *nearly extremely fine* £300-350

Approximately 26 Central Africa medals issued to the 23rd Sikh Pioneers.



A scarce 'Central Africa' Order of Merit pair awarded to Sepoy Hakim Singh, 32nd Bengal Infantry (Sikh Pioneers)

(a) ORDER OF MERIT, 3rd Class, the reverse with screw-nut fitting and officially inscribed on three lines '3rd Class Order of Merit', *central enamel chipped*

(b) CENTRAL AFRICA 1891-98, no clasp, ring suspension (2500 Sepoy Hakim Singh, 32nd Bl. Infy.) *repair to ring suspension, therefore nearly very fine or better (2)* £1200-1500

Order of Merit G.C.O. 614 of 1892. British Central Africa - 1891: 'The undermentioned non-commissioned officers and men of the Indian Army, who served in the African Military Police under the British Central Africa Administration, were awarded the 3rd Class, for conspicuous gallantry displayed in the expeditions which were undertaken against the Slave-dealing Chiefs in British Central Africa: For conspicuous gallantry in action at the capture and destruction of the stronghold of the Yao Chief Makanjira, on the south-east shore of Lake Nyassa, Central Africa, on the 30th October 1891.'

A total of eight awards of the Order of Merit were made for this engagement.

Sepoy Hakim Singh took part in the operations against Malanje (Chikumbu) in July and August 1891, and against Makanjira in October 1891. The medal roll states that Hakim Singh died on 30 October 1891, the very day that he won his Order of Merit

Refs: WO 100/76; Deeds of Valour performed by Indian Officers and Soldiers (Hypher).



The Defence of Chitral medal to Sepoy Gopal Singh, 4th Kashmir Rifles, killed in action on 3rd March during the initial disastrous reconnaissance that signalled the start of the epic defence of Chitral Fort

INDIA GENERAL SERVICE 1895-1902, 1 clasp, Defence of Chitral 1895 (514 Sepoy Gopal Singh, 4th Kashmir Rifles) *cleaned, otherwise nearly extremely fine* £1400-1600

Sepoy Gopal Singh was killed in action by a gunshot at Chitral, in the reconnaissance on 3 March 1895, during which Surgeon Captain H. F. Whitchurch won the Victoria Cross. The following extract is taken from Captain C. V. F. Townshend's Despatch of 26 April 1895:

'Reconnaissance, 3rd March 1895. We were now fired into on all sides, front, flank and rear, from every hamlet and wall, and it was now quite dark and impossible at a short distance to distinguish friend from foe. Captain Campbell, who had been put on a pony, notwithstanding that he was severely wounded, helped me in keeping the men together. Crossing the polo-ground the enemy kept up a fire on us from the houses and the orchards. On reaching the serai I found 50 men of the 14th Sikhs under Lieutenant Hurley, who had come out to cover our retreat. I directed him to cover our retirement into the fort, and, restoring order among the 4th Kashmir Rifles, retired into the fort; the Sikhs covered the retreat very steadily. I took command now at the fort, as Campbell was severely wounded. Every man was sent to his station. I heard that Captain Baird had been desperately wounded away on our right flank, and that he and Surgeon-Captain Whitchurch had not come into the fort. He had been wounded in the early part of the action. About 8 p.m. Surgeon-Captain Whitchurch came in, bringing Captain Baird, who was mortally wounded. Thirteen of the 4th Kashmir Rifles had stuck by them, - Gurkhas and one or two Dogras, under Subadar Badri Nar Singh. They had a marvellous escape. They had to charge one or two walls or sangars where the enemy tried to stop them; several of the party were killed, Baird receiving another wound as he was being carried; they had to rush one sangar with the bayonets.'

The casualties in this sortie from the fort amounted to 25 killed and 30 wounded, mostly amongst the 4th Kashmir Rifles. In addition to the V.C. to Surgeon Whitchurch, the Order of Merit was awarded to 15 officers and men of the Kashmir Rifles for gallantry on that day.

Refs: CGO 531/1895; India General Service 1895 Casualty Roll (Farrington);



A rare bronze medal for the Defence of Chitral to Bhisti Galhodu, 4th Kashmir Rifles

INDIA GENERAL SERVICE 1895-1902, 1 clasp, Defence of Chitral, bronze issue (Bhishti Galhodu, 4th Kashmir Rifles)
suspension slack, otherwise nearly very fine and very rare

£1200-1500



The magnificent 'Koragh Defile' Order of Merit group of five awarded to Jemadar Sundar Singh, 14th Sikhs, the senior Indian survivor of that disaster from which only one officer and 15 men emerged alive

- (a) ORDER OF MERIT, 3rd Class, the reverse with screw-nut fitting and officially inscribed on three lines '3rd Class "Order of Merit"', complete with silver ribbon buckle
- (b) INDIA GENERAL SERVICE 1854-94, 1 clasp, Hazara 1888 (569 Naick Sundar Singh, 14th Bl. Infy.)
- (c) INDIA GENERAL SERVICE 1895-1902, 2 clasps, Relief of Chitral 1895, Punjab Frontier 1897-98 (569 Havdr. Sundar Singh, 14th Bl. Infy.)
- (d) CHINA 1900, no clasp (Jemdr. Sundar Singh, 14th Sikhs)
- (e) DELHI DURBAR 1911, unnamed as issued, *contact marks, otherwise nearly very fine and better* (5)

£4000-5000

Order of Merit GGO 742 of 1895: 'The undermentioned non-commissioned officers and men of the 14th (Ferozepore Sikh) Regt. of Bengal Infantry, were granted the 3rd class, in recognition of the gallantry and devotion exhibited by them in the action at Koragh, in Chitral, on the 10th March 1895'. There follow the names of 14 N.C.O's and men, the senior of whom is Havildar Sundar Singh.

Captain C. R. Ross, with Lieutenant H. J. Jones and a party of some 60 Sikhs, all of the 14th Bengal Infantry, became entrapped at Koragh on the 8 March 1895. On reaching the Koragh defile, half a mile further on from the hamlet itself, the Sepoys noted with suspicion some empty sangars close to the track, also several men scattered over the hillside, but their commander remained optimistic. The defile is the result of the river cutting its winding course through terrible cliffs. At the lower end of this frightful gorge the pathway begins to ascend from the river above some caves and then zig-zags upwards. There the 'point' of the advanced guard was fired upon, and hundreds of men disclosed themselves. Obviously the soldiers were in a trap. Everything depended on their getting out again, at whatever cost, before the exits were closed. The opposing force consisted entirely of Reshun villagers, poorly armed but incalculably favoured by their position. Nevertheless, many Chitralis are of the opinion that if Ross had pressed forward he might have got through to Lieutenant Edwards who was besieged at Reshun, though that is very doubtful, or if he had rushed back at once with all his men, he would certainly have got out. His losses in either case might have been heavy, but nothing like what they eventually became.

What Captain Ross did was to order Jones back with ten men to seize the Koragh end of the defile; but what was formerly an empty sangar by the side of the road was now full of men, and before Jones reached the last shoot down which the rocks were tumbling, only two Sikhs remained with him. He sent back word of this to Ross, who thereupon withdrew his men into two caves beneath the path and close to the river, which at certain periods of the year submerges them. Jones joined them there. During the night they made another attempt to get out and seemed on the point of success when they were ordered back again. All the next day the caves were occupied. A large number of Chitralis fortified themselves on the opposite bank in a sangar, whence a continuous fire was maintained against the Sikhs, who erected breastworks for protection.

That night the poor fellows tried to escape by scaling the hillside but were brought up short by a precipice where a Sikh was lost. Thus they returned to the caves once more and passed another miserable day without food. Then Ross perceived he must cut his way out at all cost. Starting at two o'clock in the morning they rushed along, losing heavily. Ross behaved with astounding gallantry. It is related that he charged a sangar a little off the track by himself, and killed two or three of its inmates with his revolver at close quarters. Then a stone partially stunned him and he was shot dead. Jones and seventeen sepoy got through to the plain on the Koragh side of the defile, where two consecutive masses of charging swordsmen withered up and melted before them, teaching the Chitralis their bitter mistake in attacking Sikhs shoulder to shoulder on open ground. But three more were killed, and the remaining fourteen, ten of whom, including Jones, were grievously wounded, crawled painfully into Buni at six o'clock in the morning.

These fourteen men and one other were the sole survivors of the sixty soldiers who entered the Koragh defile. Lieutenant Jones was subsequently awarded the D.S.O. and each of the 14 surviving Sikhs received the Order of Merit. Sundar Singh went on to see service in the Punjab Frontier campaign of 1897-98 and in China 1900, rising to the rank of Subadar. In the Indian Army List of 1910 he is shown as the Senior Subadar, and in that of 1913 he is shown on the retired list.

Refs: Deeds of Valour performed by Indian Officers and Soldiers (Hypher). The Chitral Campaign (Thompson); The Relief of Chitral (Younghusband); Chitral (Robertson); Indian Army Lists.



The Relief of Chitral D.S.O. group of seven awarded to Colonel R. C. Hadow, 15th Sikhs

- (a) DISTINGUISHED SERVICE ORDER, V.R., silver-gilt and enamels
- (b) AFGHANISTAN 1878-80, 2 clasps, Ahmed Khel, Kandahar (Lt. R. C. Hadow, 15th Ben. N.I.)
- (c) KABUL TO KANDAHAR STAR 1880 (Lieut. R. C. Hadow, 15th Bengal N.I.)
- (d) EGYPT & SUDAN 1882-89, 2 clasps, Suakin 1885, Tofrek (Capt. R. C. Hadow, 15th Sikhs.)
- (e) INDIA GENERAL SERVICE 1854-94, 1 clasp, Samana 1891 (Major R. C. Hadow, 15th Bl. Infy.)
- (f) INDIA GENERAL SERVICE 1895-1902, 4 clasps, Relief of Chitral 1895, Punjab Frontier 1897-98, Samana 1897, Tirah 1897-98 (Major R. C. Hadow, 15th Bl. Infy.)
- (g) KHEDIVE'S STAR 1884-6, mounted on original wearing bar, ribbons now rather frayed, good very fine and better (7) £3000-4000

Reginald Campbell Hadow, the son of Patrick Hadow, J.P., Chairman of the P. & O. Steam Navigation Company, was born on 6 July 1851, and educated at Cheltenham. He was gazetted Ensign in H.M.'s 55th Regiment on 27 April 1870, was promoted Lieutenant on 28 October 1871, and admitted to the Bengal Staff Corps on 26 July 1876. Appointed to the 15th Bengal Native Infantry (Ludhiana Sikhs), Hadow served throughout both campaigns of the Afghan War of 1878-80, taking part in the advance to and occupation of Kandahar, the advance from Kandahar on Ghazni and to Kabul, the march from Kabul to the relief of Kandahar, and the return to Sibi by the Hunai route, and being present at the battle of Ahmed Khel, the action of Arzu, the operations in the Logar Valley, the reconnaissance of 31 August 1880, and the battle of Kandahar.

He was advanced to the rank of Captain on 27 April 1882, and in February 1885 embarked for active service in the Sudan with his regiment, then styled the 15th Bengal Infantry (Loodhiana Sikhs), the word 'Native' having been dropped from titles on 1 January of that year. The regiment formed part of the Indian Brigade under Major-General J. Hudson, destined to act as part of the garrison at the port of Suakin under the overall command of Major-General Sir Gerald Graham. Though originally intended for defence work, Hadow and the Indian Brigade, comprising, in addition to the 15th Sikhs, the 17th Bengal Infantry, 28th Bombay Infantry, one company of 2nd Queen's Own Sappers and Miners, and 9th Bengal Lancers, moved out from Suakin on 22 March with a battalion each of Berkshires and Royal Marine Light Infantry, a squadron of 5th Lancers, and a Royal Navy machine gun detachment, towards Tamaai, which was believed to be the headquarters of the Mahdist commander Osman Digna. The Anglo-Indian force, under the command of Major-General Sir J. C. McNeill, V.C., found it hard going through the dense mimosa scrub under a scorching sun, and having covered just six miles in four hours, called a halt at Tofrek.

At 2.40 p.m., as the Sappers and men of the Berkshires were cutting bushes and building a zariba, the force was suddenly attacked by a screaming horde of some 5,000 'Fuzzy-Wuzzys'. The unfinished defences were hastily manned in the west by Hadow's regiment, in the south by the 17th Bengal and in the north by the 28th Bombay Infantry. Half of the Berkshires with two naval machine guns held the south west corner, and the R.M.L.I. with two more Gardner guns the north west corner of the position. The transport lines lay 200 yards to the east and the remainder of the Berkshires 300 yards to the north west. The Fuzzy-Wuzzys swept like lightning towards the half-constructed zariba from the south, driving in the cavalry pickets, scattering the transport animals and breaking the 17th Bengal. The battle of Tofrek, or McNeill's Zariba as it became known, had all the makings of a major disaster, but fortunately the Fuzzy-Wuzzys, having broken into the position, charged out again on the opposite side, spurred on by the disciplined fire of the Berkshires to the north west. Some 130 British and Indian troops were killed. The Fuzzy-Wuzzys lost a thousand dead.

Thereafter the operations around Suakin fizzled out. Osman Digna's followers lost confidence and drifted away, while Graham's forces, unable to find them, confined their activities to burning a few huts. The war scare caused by the Russian occupation of Panjdeh in Afghanistan provided the authorities with a convenient excuse to withdraw the bulk of the Indian Brigade. Hadow's regiment and the 17th Bengal, however, remained to garrison Suakin until November when they too returned to India.

Hadow became Major on 27 April 1890, and in 1891 took part with his regiment in the second Miranzai Expedition. During the Chitral Relief Expedition of 1895 he served with his regiment in the 1st Infantry Brigade, being present at the storming of the Malakand Pass and the forcing of the Swat River, receiving a mention in despatches and the D.S.O., 'in recognition of services' rendered. The insignia was presented to him on 11 April 1896 and he was promoted Lieutenant-Colonel on 27 April 1896. In 1897-98 he took part in the operations on the Samana and in the Kurram Valley Flying Column, under Colonel Richardson. He served in the Tirah campaign, being present at Chagru Kotal and Dargai, and operations in the Khanki Valley. Hadow was severely wounded by a gun shot to his right leg at Khangarbur on 26 October 1897. On 15 February 1902, he was given the Brevet rank of Colonel, and, on 27 April 1902, retired with the rank of Colonel. Colonel Hadow died on 10 October 1919.

Ref: The Distinguished Service Order 1886-1923 (Creagh); Who Was Who.



A scarce Relief of Chitral pair to Naik Ram Singh, 1 Kashmir Mountain Battery

- (a) INDIA GENERAL SERVICE 1895-1902, 3 clasps, Relief of Chitral 1895, Punjab Frontier 1897-98, Tirah 1897-98 (71 Naick Ram Singh, No. 1 Kashmir Mtn. By.)
- (b) JUMMOO AND KASHMIR MEDAL 1895, clasp, Chitral 1895 (Hdr 71 Ram Sing 1 KMB) correctly named in somewhat crudely impressed capitals, good very fine and a scarce pair (2) £500-600

Two guns of the 1st Mountain Battery of the Kashmir Imperial Service Troops accompanied Colonel Kelly's relief force to Chitral in 1895, and were actively engaged at Nisa Gol on 13 April 1895, when six men of the battery were wounded . The unit subsequently served in the Tirah campaign in 1897-98.

Refs: India General Service 1895 Casualty Roll (Farrington); The Chitral Campaign (Thompson); The Relief of Chitral (Younghusband); Chitral (Robertson).



The Jummoo and Kashmir medal to Havildar Makhan, 4th Kashmir Rifles

JUMMOO AND KASHMIR MEDAL 1895, clasp, Chitral 1895 (19 Havdr Makhan 4th Kashmir Rifles) correctly named in somewhat crudely impressed capitals, *good very fine* £300-350

The 4th Kashmir Rifles, or (Raghunath) Regiment of Kashmir Light Infantry as they were correctly titled, were principally engaged with great distinction in the defence of Chitral Fort, whilst some men were also present at the defence of Reshan Fort and in the action at Nisa Gol with Kelly's relief force in March and April 1895. Whether engaged in the defence of relief of Chitral, all men of the Kashmir Imperial State Forces received the bronze medal for Chitral 1895, in addition to the India medal from the British Government.

Refs: India General Service 1895 Casualty Roll (Farrington); The Chitral Campaign (Thompson); The Relief of Chitral (Younghusband); Chitral (Robertson).



The Chitral campaign medal to Muleteer Sayyid Hussain, Madras Commissariat Transport Department

INDIA GENERAL SERVICE 1895-1902, 1 clasp, Relief of Chitral 1895, bronze issue (321 Muleteer Sayyid Hussain, Comst. Transpt. Dept. Madras) nearly extremely fine £60-70



The Chitral and Punjab Frontier campaign medal to Mule Attendant Ghulam Muhammad, Queen's Own Corps of Guides

INDIA GENERAL SERVICE 1895-1902, 2 clasps, Relief of Chitral 1895, Punjab Frontier 1897-98, bronze issue (14 Mule Attendant Ghulam Muhammad, Q.O. Corps of Guides) *cleaned and lacquered, otherwise nearly very fine*
£60-70



The remarkable campaign group of five to Mate Lalloo Hemow, Army Bearer Corps, formerly a Dooly Bearer in the Supply and Transport Corps

- (a) INDIA GENERAL SERVICE 1895-1902, 1 clasp, Relief of Chitral 1895, bronze issue (215 Dooly bearer Lalloo Hemow, C.T. Deptt.)
- (b) QUEEN'S SUDAN 1896, bronze issue (58 Dooly bearer Lalloo Hemow, C.T. Deptt.)
- (c) QUEEN'S SOUTH AFRICA 1899-1902, no clasp, bronze issue (425 Dooly Bearer Lulloo Hemow, S & T. Corps)
- (d) INDIA GENERAL SERVICE 1908-35, 1 clasp, North West Frontier 1908, silver issue (6000 Mate Lalloo, No. 6 Co. A.B. Corps)
- (e) KHEWIVE'S SUDAN 1896-1908, no clasp, bronze issue (58 Dooly Bearer Lalloo Hemow, C.T. Deptt.) *contact marks and edge bruising, generally nearly very fine and a very rare group (5)* £400-500

The majority of non-combatants, and especially those in the various 'corps', were hired on a temporary basis in times of war and were not kept on the permanent strength, hence every time they were hired they received a fresh service number. The hiring of labour required for the Commissariat & Transport [Supply & Transport from 1901] Corps and the Medical Services establishment was contracted out to foremen or 'mates' who remained with their recruits during the contractual period. It is perfectly logical that Lalloo would have gained the necessary experience by 1908 to perform this elevated function.

One can conclude with reasonable confidence that Lalloo was employed on four separate occasions, the first three with the C & T Corps. Each time he was hired he was issued with a fresh service number. Having matured and gained experience and, presumably, some good references, he got a contract to hire labour for the Army Bearer Corps required for the N.W.F. expedition in 1908, and in all probability all of his muckers had four figure service numbers in the 6000 series. The contract would have ended with the return of the expeditionary force to home base. The Army Bearer Corps was established in 1901 and was amalgamated with the Army Hospital Corps in 1920, to become the Indian Hospital Corps.



The Punjab Frontier campaign medal to Private William Burton, 1st Royal West Kent Regiment

INDIA GENERAL SERVICE 1895-1902, 1 clasp, Punjab Frontier 1897-98 (3198 Pte. W. Burton, 1st Bn. RI. W. Kent Regt.) *very fine* £80-100

William Burton was born at Ipswich, Suffolk, and attested for the Royal West Kent Regiment at Maidstone on 16 December 1891, aged 19 years. He served in India from December 1892 until February 1902, during which time he took part in the campaign on the Punjab Frontier including operations of the Malakand and Buner Field Force in 1897-98 (Medal with clasp). After a period of 11 months service at Malta, and just over 15 months in Ceylon, Burton returned to England where he was discharged on 4 March 1904.

Ref: WO 97/4465.



The Punjab Frontier campaign medal to Sweeper Labha, 25th Punjab Infantry

INDIA GENERAL SERVICE 1895-1902, 1 clasp, Punjab Frontier 1897-98, bronze issue (Sweeper Labha, 25th Pjb. Infy.) about nearly very fine £50-60



The Malakand Order of Merit pair awarded to Naik Sawan Singh, 24th Bengal Infantry

(a) ORDER OF MERIT, 3rd Class, the reverse with screw-nut fitting and officially inscribed on three lines '3rd Class Order of Merit'

(b) INDIA GENERAL SERVICE 1895-1902, 2 clasps, Punjab Frontier 1897-98, Malakand 1897 (2798 Naick Sawan Singh, 24th Bl. Infy.) *cleaned and lacquered, light contact marks otherwise nearly very fine (2)* £2500-3000

Order of Merit CCO 101 of 1898: 'For conspicuous gallantry at Malakand throughout the night of the 26th July 1897. He accompanied the party of officers and men in the retaking of the Sappers and Miners' quarter-guard. In one of these attempts nearly half the party were shot down, among them being a sepoy of the 45th Sikhs, orderly to Colonel Meiklejohn. When forced back some 20 yards, Sawan Singh rushed forward to the original spot and carried back the body of the orderly.'

Ref: Deeds of Valour performed by Indian Officers and Soldiers (Hypher).



The Punjab Frontier and Malakand campaign medal to Sweeper Sundar, 24th Punjab Infantry

INDIA GENERAL SERVICE 1895-1902, 2 clasps, Punjab Frontier 1897-98, Malakand 1897 (Sweeper Sundar, 24th Pjb. Infy.) heavily polished, therefore fine but scarce £70-80



The Dargai D.C.M. group of four awarded to Colour Sergeant James Mackay, Gordon Highlanders, who was wounded in the thigh storming the heights in this historic Victoria Cross action

- (a) DISTINGUISHED CONDUCT MEDAL, V.R. (Sergt. J. Mackay, Gord. High'rs.)
- (b) INDIA GENERAL SERVICE 1895-1902, 3 clasps, Relief of Chitral 1895, Punjab Frontier 1897-98, Tirah 1897-98 (2465 Sgt. J. Mackay, 1st Bn. Gord. Highrs.)
- (c) QUEEN'S SOUTH AFRICA 1899-1902, 5 clasps, Cape Colony, Paardeberg, Driefontein, Johannesburg, Belfast (2465 C.Sgt. J. Mackay, Gordon Highrs.)
- (d) KING'S SOUTH AFRICA 1901-02, 2 clasps, South Africa 1901, South Africa 1902 (2465 Clr.-Sjt. J. Mackay, Gordon Highrs.) *light contact marks, otherwise very fine* (4) £6000-7000

D.C.M. Recommendation submitted to The Queen, 9 July 1898: 2456 Sergeant James MacKay, 1st Gordon Highlanders, Dargai 20 October, 1897. Two Victoria Crosses and seven Distinguished Conduct Medals were awarded to the Gordon Highlanders for gallantry in this action.

In the autumn of 1897 the Government of India reacted to the unprovoked aggression of the Afridis and Orakzais by mounting an expedition of 44,000 men to enter their summer homelands of Tirah. The expeditionary force was commanded by Lieutenant-General Sir William Lockhart, and the 1st Gordon Highlanders were brigaded with the 1st Dorsets, 1st/2nd Gurkhas, and the 15th Sikhs, to form Brigadier-General Ian Hamilton's 1st Brigade in Major-General Yeatman-Biggs' 2nd Division. The brigade marched on 7 October via the Kohat Pass for Shinawri which was reached on the 15th. Hamilton, having met with an accident, was replaced by Brigadier-General Kempster, and the brigade, now styled the 'Third Brigade, Tirah Field Force', prepared to resume the advance with the rest of the expedition on the 20th. But it was found that the Alikhels had skilfully, though only lightly, occupied the village of Dargai, perched on a rocky spur forming the western side of the Chagru valley and dominating the road by which Lockhart intended to march.

On the 18th the 2nd Division under Sir Power Palmer, standing in for Yeatman-Biggs who was ill, moved out to dislodge the enemy. Westmacott's brigade was to engage the enemy in front, while Kempster's was to make a wide detour and get round on his right flank. After a long a wearisome approach the Gurkhas, Sikh and British infantry swarmed up the steep ascent and took the position at a cost of only two killed and thirteen wounded. During the afternoon however it was decided to abandon the position due to difficulties of supply and water. It was thought that the tribesmen would not follow but as Kempster's brigade began to withdraw some 4,000 fresh tribesmen, having determined to reinforce the Alikhels, advanced from the Khanki valley and began to closely press the rearguard, killing seven men and wounding thirty-four before the brigade reached camp.

Lockhart felt that the presence of working parties with their strong covering parties improving the road through the Chagru Valley would deter the enemy from reoccupying the Dargai Heights but on the evening of the 19th he received information that some 12,000 of the enemy were in evidence. The 1st and 2nd Divisions were accordingly put under orders to retake the heights next day and thus open the way through the pass into Tirah.

Sir George MacMunn (Ritchie 1-127), then a young gunner officer, was an eyewitness: 'Many hours before dawn on October the 20th in the year of grace 1897 the troops commenced the ascent of the pass. The leading brigade, which was to storm the heights was commanded by Brigadier Kempster ... The Gurkhas were to lead, supported by the Dorsets, and so that the Brigadier should not draw too heavily on his own battalions at that stage, the Derbys were lent him also. From the top of the pass a long narrow ridge connected with the heights, running parallel with them for some hundreds of yards, and then was joined to the foot of the actual cliffs by a narrow neck with steep sides that fell away to the gorges below.

Until this neck was reached the attackers were more or less under cover, but as they emerged on the neck they would be swept by hundreds of rifles posted on the cliffs above. The rest of the division was now crowded on the Chagru Kotal and as far as the eye could see long lines of transport animals stood under their load, and down in the plains below tens of thousands more waiting for the leading troops to clear the way. Three mountain batteries perched on the Kotal ... commenced to bombard the heights ... Then suddenly Colonel Travers and his leading Gurkhas dashed out on to the neck and gained the cover of a mass of overhanging rock. The riflemen above had not expected it, but now hundreds of muzzles were turned on this sole alleyway of the neck that lay below them ... in vain more men tried to join Colonel Travers so that he might attempt to scale the now defiant heights! In vain, officer after officer tried to lead and dribble his men over. A storm of rifle bullets swept them away and the fallen rolled down the precipitous slopes of the neck. The waiting army saw little of the trouble and waxed impatient. The Dorsets came up to give the Gurkhas a lead which they did not in the least want, only to be swept away by the hail of fire from above ... Still the flying bullet down the pass was master and the cold steel and fixed bayonets had no say. The brigadier swore, not at his troops who were doing their best, but at the difficulties which had not been foreseen.'

'Up on the Kotal the divisional general was much concerned; here was he blocking the movement of the whole army, the hours were slipping away, and he was due to have his division assembled in the Khanki valley that night and pass God-alone-knows how many thousand transport animals over the Kotal too ...' Indeed all that Yeatman-Biggs could do was to send in more troops, and so the Gordons were ordered up with the 3rd Sikhs. 'The constant stream of the dead and wounded [who had tried before] ... was not an encouraging sight to the Gordons; while the enemy, full of confidence in the impregnability of their position, were waving their standards, beating their drums, and shouting defiance. On reaching the spot where the Derby's and Dorsets were, the Highlanders lay under cover while the guns concentrated their fire for three minutes on the summit. When the moment for action came, Colonel Mathias addressed them in these simple and soldier-like words, which sent a thrill not only through his own men but through the whole of the British Empire - "The General says this hill must be taken at all costs - the Gordon Highlanders will take it."

'Mathias decided that as it was useless to make the ascent in dribs and drabs, the regiment would advance *en masse*, reasoning that some would surely reach the crest. After a momentary hush the Highlanders assured their Colonel with a hearty cheer that his confidence in them was not misplaced - "The Gordon Highlanders will advance in close order! Officers and pipers to the front!" The pipe-major swung his plaid and his drones over his shoulder with a magnificent gesture, and struck up "Cock of the North." and then, with their Colonel at their head as in the days of old, the Highlanders rushed forth and with them the impatient remnants of those who had tried before. Furious volleys swept from above, and many a bullet found its billet on that jostling crowded neck, but nothing could stop the rush.'

The Highlanders swarmed up the steep slope with such determination that the enemy did not wait for the final assault but fled in all directions. In the rush Mackay was unfortunately wounded suffering a gunshot wound in the right side, thereby contributing to the overall casualty figures of four officers and thirty-four men killed and fourteen officers and 147 men wounded. No less than five Victoria Crosses were awarded for the famous but controversial storming of the heights, with two going to the Gordons, on the recommendation of General Yeatman-Biggs, who further brought to the notice of Sir William Lockhart the services of Sergeant Mackay and six other N.C.O's and men, all of whom received the Distinguished Conduct Medal.

Refs: The Life of a Regiment; The History of the Gordon Highlanders, 1816-1898 (Greenhill Cardyne).



The fine Tirah D.S.O. group awarded to Brigadier-General F. G. Lucas, C.B., C.S.I., C.I.E., D.S.O., Gurkha Scouts, later Commandant 5th Gurkha Rifles

- (a) THE MOST HONOURABLE ORDER OF THE BATH (Military) C.B., Companion's neck badge, silver-gilt and enamels, in its Garrard & Co case of issue
- (b) THE MOST EXALTED ORDER OF THE STAR OF INDIA, C.S.I., Companion's neck badge, gold, silver and enamels, with central cameo of Queen Victoria, the surrounding motto set with small diamonds, in its Garrard & Co case of issue, *lacking one small stone and top ring of Star suspension bent*
- (c) THE MOST EMINENT ORDER OF THE INDIAN EMPIRE, C.I.E., Companion's 3rd type neck badge, gold and enamels, in its Garrard & Co case of issue, *enamel chipped on one rose petal*
- (d) DISTINGUISHED SERVICE ORDER, V.R., silver-gilt and enamels, *lacking top suspension bar, usual light loss to enamels of both wreaths*
- (e) INDIA GENERAL SERVICE 1854-94, 1 clasp, Hazara 1891 (Lt. F. G. Lucas, 2d Bn. 5 Gurkha Regt.)
- (f) INDIA GENERAL SERVICE 1895-1902, 3 clasps, Punjab Frontier 1897-98, Tirah 1897-98, Waziristan 1901-2 (Capt. F. G. Lucas, 2 Bn. 5th Gurkha Rifles)
- (g) INDIA GENERAL SERVICE 1908-35, 4 clasps, North West Frontier 1908, Afghanistan N.W.F. 1919, Mahsud 1919-20, Waziristan 1919-21 (Major F. G. Lucas, D.S.O., 2 Bn. 5th Gurkha Rifles)
- (h) BRITISH WAR AND VICTORY MEDALS (Brig-Gen. F. G. Lucas)
- (i) DELHI DURBAR 1903, silver (Bt. Major F. G. Lucas, D.S.O., 2/Bn. 5th Gurkha Rifles)
- (j) DELHI DURBAR 1911, silver (Lt. Col. F. G. Lucas, D.S.O., 2nd Bn. 5th Gurkha Rifles)
- (k) LEGION OF HONOUR, Officer's breast badge, gold and enamels, *unless otherwise described, some light contact marks but generally good very fine and better* (12)

£5000-6000

Frederic George Lucas, the eldest son of Frederic Lucas, Paymaster, Royal Navy, was born at Falmouth on 20 October 1866, and educated at the Royal Naval School, New Cross, the Royal Academy, Gosport, and the R.M.C., Sandhurst. He was gazetted to the East Lancashire Regiment on 25 August 1886 and to the Indian Staff Corps on 1 August 1888, becoming Captain, Indian Army, on 25 August 1897.

Appointed to the 5th Gurkhas, he served in the Hazara Expedition of 1891 and the Isazai Expedition of 1892. In October 1897 he assembled in command of the Scouts of his regiment as part of the Tirah Expeditionary Force, which was to prove to the Afridis and Orakzais that the British Government could move at will into their territory and control the country. He led the Scouts and was mentioned in despatches for his part in the action of Chagru Kotal (Dargai), and also at the capture of the Sampagha and Arhanga passes, the reconnaissance of Saran Sar, the operations in and around Dwatoi, and the action of 24 November 1897.

On the 26th it was decided to evacuate Tirah and while arrangements were being made for the backloading of all the heavy baggage, an opportunity arose to punish the Chamkannis, a small Orakzai clan overlooking the Kurram Valley, by destroying their principal village of Thabai. A force consisting of some 1,200 men was formed under Colonel Hill and on 1 December moved out towards the Chamkanni Valley, but part of the force meeting with some opposition was so delayed that it was decided to withdraw to Esor. The tribesmen at once began to harass the retirement with the result that the force returned to camp with a casualty list of seven killed and eighteen wounded. Next day a change was made to the composition of the force, so that Hill's command now comprised part of the 1st Queen's, 3rd Sikhs, 4th and 5th Gurkhas, and Lucas' Gurkha Scouts. The Chamkannis had anticipated a second visit and were out in force occupying new sangars run up on several spurs. These were attacked on December 1st, and many were destroyed but before the work could be completed it was time to withdraw to camp. On December 2nd the operations were resumed but, despite Hill having a force at his disposal with which 'a general might have gone to the world's end', the brunt of the day fell upon Lucas and his Scouts - 'the finest hill soldiers in the world':

'Lucas breasted them up an almost precipitous scarp, the steepness of which, with their own adeptness for taking cover, alone saved them from the fire above. So severe was the climb that the men literally had to hand each other up. At the top of this climb Lucas found his eighty men confronted by three spurs, with dips between, each spur sungared and held, and the spot his men were taking cover in under a fire from three sides. In the face of it, it would have been wasting valuable lives to have made a brilliant dash for the first three sungars; so Lucas gave his men breathing time until he saw the head of the leading company of the 5th on his left. Then was his time: half the opposing fire was detached by the arrival of support. Lucas told off half his company to sweep the sungar with a stream of independent fire, whether the enemy were visible or not, and then threw himself in front of forty little black faces and forty gleaming bayonets. The Chamkannis showed more front than has any Yagistan upon this border yet, for they stood up and met the charge with a volley and then bared their knives to receive it. But the covering fire destroyed their composure and their aim. They waited till fifty then thirty yards remained, when their spirits failed them and they raced for the next sungar behind them. Lucas repeated this three times, but they left many dead and wounded behind them, and then when the little scouts had turned or literally driven them over the brow of the hill, they shot them at longer ranges as they streamed along the terraced fields below. It was a magnificent piece of work, and although a dozen of the little hillmen had bullets through their clothes, yet not a man was touched, and twenty to thirty of the tribesmen lay stretched or struggling on the ground ... It is impossible to overpraise the Gurkha scout service or of its officers, Lucas, Bruce, and Tillard. The 5th Gurkha scouts came up ninety-two strong. They have been thirty-six times engaged in the campaign, have killed over their own strength of the enemy, and have lost one man killed and two wounded, and this does not extend to the many nights which they have spent stalking camp prowlers.'

Lucas was awarded the D.S.O. on 28 October 1898, and next served on the North West Frontier in Waziristan in 1901-02, and received a mention in despatches. He became Major on 25 August 1904, and in 1908 served in operations in the Zakka Khel country and was again mentioned in despatches. Promoted Lieutenant-Colonel on 22 October 1911, he was appointed Commandant of the 2nd Battalion, 5th Gurkhas Rifles.

Whilst commanding the 2/5th Gurkhas in Mesopotamia in 1916, he was appointed to the command of the 42nd Infantry Brigade, Indian Expeditionary Force 'D', M.E.F., which he retained until March 1919. He was awarded the C.B. in 1918 for services in Mesopotamia, and the C.S.I. in 1919. He commanded the Dardoni Brigade for a short period in 1919, and subsequently the 67th Brigade during the Mahsud operations in Waziristan during 1919-20, for which he was awarded the C.I.E. and mentioned in despatches. He retired as a Brigadier-General in 1921, after commanding the Abbottabad Brigade, and died in the United Kingdom on 5 October 1922.

Refs: The Distinguished Service Order 1886-1923 (Creagh); Who Was Who; Campaigns on The North-West Frontier (Nevill); Indian Frontier War (James); The Tirah Campaign (Woosnam Mills); History of the 5th Royal Gurkha Rifles (Frontier Force).



The unusual Tirah C.B. pair to Major H.H. Maharaj Nihal Singh, Lokendra Bahadur of Dholpur

(a) THE MOST HONOURABLE ORDER OF THE BATH (Military) C.B., Companion's breast badge, silver-gilt and enamels, complete with swivel-ring suspension and ribbon buckle

(b) INDIA GENERAL SERVICE 1895-1902, 2 clasps, Punjab Frontier 1897-98, Tirah 1897-98 (Major H.H. Maharaja Rana Nihal Singh, C.B. Lokendra Bahadur of Dholpur) *good very fine* (2) £1500-2000

Major His Highness Rais-ud-duala Siphadar-ul-Mulk, Maharaja-Adhirá Sri Sawai Maharaja Rana Nihil Singh, Lokindar Bahadur, Diler Jang, Jai Deo was born in 1862. He succeeded his grandfather, Sir Bhagwant Singh K.C.S.I. as a minor on 9 February 1873, ruling over a 15-gun salute state of 1,200 square miles in Rajputana, inhabited by 250,000 subjects, chiefly Hindus but including some Muhammadans and Jains.

The Maharaja belonged to a Jat (Hindu) family which traced its pedigree back to the 11th century when it held lands under the Puár Kings of Delhi. In later times it acquired territory on the banks of the Chambal, and was powerful in the 18th century, when the Rana of Gohad joined the British troops in the Mahratta war in 1779. The title of Rana had been recognised by the Emperor Sikandar Lodi of Delhi, but in 1779 the British recognised the Rana as Maharaja Rana. In 1805 Lord Cornwallis granted Gohad to Scindhia, and in exchange granted to his ancestor, Maharaja Rana Kirat Singh, the territories of Dholpur, Bari, and Rajakhera. Kirat Singh was succeeded by Bhagwant Singh, who showed great loyalty during the Mutiny of 1857. His son married a daughter of the Raja of Patiala, but died before his father, leaving a son and heir, Nihal Singh.

Maharaja Nihil Singh, an Honorary Major in the British army, maintained a private army of 139 cavalry, 1588 infantry and 32 guns, and took part in British operations on the North West Frontier in 1897-98. The Maharaja Rana died suddenly on 20 July 1901 and was succeeded by his son Rana Ram Singh.

Refs: Memoranda on the Indian States 1934; The Golden Book of India (Lethbridge).



The Tirah campaign medal to Muleteer Ahmed, Commissariat Transport Department
INDIA GENERAL SERVICE 1895-1902, 2 clasps, Punjab Frontier 1897-98, Tirah 1897-98 (31 Muleteer Ahmed, C.T. Deptt.) good very fine £60-70



The Central Africa and North West Frontier campaign pair to Naik Kishan Singh, 25th Punjabis

- (a) CENTRAL AFRICA 1891-98, 1 clasp, Central Africa 1894-98 (1548 Sepoy Kishan Singh, 25th Bl. Infy.)
 - (b) INDIA GENERAL SERVICE 1908-35, 1 clasp, North West Frontier 1908 (1548 Naick Kishen Singh, 25th Pjbis.)
- small official correction to naming, light contact marks, otherwise very fine or better and a most unusual combination (2)*

£450-550

The medal roll shows only 9 medals for Central Africa to this regiment, all with clasp.



The Uganda campaign medal to Sepoy Atma Singh, 15th Sikhs

- EAST AND CENTRAL AFRICA 1897-99, 2 clasps, Lubwa's, Uganda 1897-98 (3105 Sepoy Atma Singh, 15 Sikhs Regt.)
- impressed naming, nearly extremely fine*

£300-350



The rare 6-clasp Boer War medal to Jemadar Yusuf Ali Khan, 33rd Queen's Own Light Cavalry (late 3rd Bombay Cavalry), one of Lord Roberts' Indian Orderlies on the Army Head Quarters Staff in South Africa

QUEEN'S SOUTH AFRICA 1899-1902, 6 clasps, Cape Colony, Paardeberg, Driefontein, Johannesburg, Diamond Hill, Belfast (2366 Dafr: Yusuf Ali Khan, Head-Qr: Staff) *edge bruising and contact marks, otherwise nearly very fine and extremely rare* £600-700

Silver medals to Indian recipients with 'battle' clasps are extremely rare, possibly as few as 32 issued and fewer still with 6 clasps.

Daffadar Yusuf Ali Khan, 3rd Bombay Cavalry, appears on the medal roll of the Army Head Quarters Staff together with five others, four cavalry and one infantry, but his regiment is incorrectly shown as the 3rd Bengal Cavalry. The roll is signed by Lieutenant-Colonel H. V. Cowan, who served as Military Secretary on the Staff and who received the same six clasps to his own medal. The other five Indians on the roll are Daffadars Desa Singh (7th Bengal Cavalry), Mirbad Shah (11th Bengal Lancers), Saleh Singh (14th Bengal Lancers), Wadhawa Singh (19th Bengal Lancers), and Drill Havildar Yaseen Baj (3rd Madras Infantry). It would seem that some of the regiments shown here are also at variance to the recipients' actual units. For example, this last recipient actually served in the 3rd Madras Lancers and became a Jemadar in 1901 and a Ressaidar in 1907; his war service is shown as 'South Africa 1900-01 - Orderly to F.M. Earl Roberts. Paardeberg, Driefontein, Johannesburg, Diamond Hill, Belfast - Medal with 6 clasps).

Yusuf Ali Khan, who entered the Indian Army on 2 July 1887, was promoted to Jemadar on 1 November 1903. He transferred from the 33rd Cavalry to The Governor's Bodyguard Bombay on 1 July 1906 and was simultaneously advanced to Risaldar, and remained thus until his retirement at the end of 1919. His war service is shown in the Indian Army List of January 1919 as 'South Africa 1900 - Medal with 6 clasps).

Refs: WO 100/296; Indian Army Lists; QSA Silver Medals to Indians - OMRS Journal Winter 1985 (Street).



The Tibet campaign medal to Private William Broker, Royal Fusiliers

TIBET 1903-04, 1 clasp, Gyantse (5490 Pte. W. Broker, 1st Bn. Ryl. Fuslrs.) *official correction to regimental number, edge bruise, otherwise very fine* £400-500

William Broker was born at Paddington, London, and attested for the Royal Fusiliers at Hounslow on 8 July 1896, aged 18 years. He deserted in June 1899 but rejoined one year later when he was tried, convicted and sentenced to 84 days imprisonment with hard labour. He went with his regiment to Burma in October 1901, moving to India in November 1903. Broker took part in the "Sikkim-Tibet Expedition" in 1904, including the action at Niani, operations at and around Gyantse, and the march to Lhasa. He returned to the U.K. in January 1905, and was discharged as a Lance-Corporal on 10 July 1909.

Ref: WO 97/4420.



A scarce Edward VII I.D.S.M. group of five awarded to Subadar Rur Singh, 32nd Sikh Pioneers

- (a) INDIAN DISTINGUISHED SERVICE MEDAL, E.VII.R. (Subdr. Rur Singh, 32d Sikh Pioneers) complete with top suspension brooch
- (b) INDIA GENERAL SERVICE 1854-94, 2 clasps, Sikkim 1888, Hazara 1891 (2396 Sepoy Rur Singh, 32d Bl. Infy.)
- (c) INDIA GENERAL SERVICE 1895-1902, 2 clasps, Relief of Chitral 1895, Waziristan 1901-2 (2396 Havdr. Rur Singh, 32nd Bl. Infy.)
- (d) TIBET 1903-04, 1 clasp, Gyantse (Subdr. Rur Singh, 32nd Sikh Pioneers)
- (e) INDIA GENERAL SERVICE 1908-35, 1 clasp, Abor 1911-12 (Subadar Rur Singh, 32nd Sikh Pioneers) *nearly very fine or better and an outstanding group (5)* £2000-2500

I.D.S.M. GGO 586 of 1907, one of the original 48 recipients of this newly instituted award.

Rur Singh entered the service on 30 September 1886. He was appointed Jemadar on 4 February 1895, and Subadar on 8 August 1899. He retired to the Pension Establishment in 1912.

The Indian Army List records his active service as 'N.E. Frontier of India, Sikkim 1888 (Medal with clasp); N.W. Frontier of India, Hazara 1891 (Clasp); Chitral 1895, Relief of Chitral (Medal with clasp); N.W. Frontier of India, Waziristan 1901-02 (Clasp); Tibet 1903-04, action at Niani, 26th June 1904, operations at and around Gyantse between 5th May and 6th July 1904, march to Lhasa, 14th July to 3rd August 1904 (Medal with clasp). Abor 1911-12 (Medal with clasp)'.

Refs: Indian Army List; The Indian Distinguished Service Medal (Chhina).



The Durand Medal for 1924 awarded to Subadar-Major Ishar Singh, Bengal Sappers and Miners

DURAND MEDAL, bronze, 64mm., obverse bust of Major General Sir H. M. Durand, K.C.S.I., C.B., R.E.; reverse the towers and walls of the fort at Ghuznee, named on the edge (Subadar-Major Ishar Singh, I.D.S.M., K.G.O. Bengal Sappers & Miners 1924) with large ring for suspension, contained in its original fitted presentation case, suspension ring a little out of shape, otherwise good very fine and scarce £500-600

The Durand Medal was an annual award to an Indian officer, V.C.O. or Sapper of the Indian Sappers and Miners who had distinguished himself as a soldier and a sapper by good and efficient service. The prize originated in 1876, when a fund was raised by Royal Engineer officers at home and in India to commemorate the memory of Major-General Sir Henry Durand, K.C.S.I., C.B., of the Bengal Engineers. The design on the medal commemorates one of the first acts of his military career when he blew in the Cabul gate of the Ghazni fort in 1839. The Trust Fund is controlled by the Institution of Royal Engineers and since partition the medal has been awarded on the basis of two years to the Indian Engineers to one year to the Royal Pakistan Engineers, on the advice of their respective Engineers-in-Chief.

It would appear that Ishar Singh's medal has been named in error with the post-nominal 'I.D.S.M.' for he never received such an award. There was in the regiment, however, a more junior man by the name of 'Isher Singh', who became Subadar in May 1923, and received the I.D.S.M. for Mesopotamia as a colour havildar in August 1917.

The Subadar-Major entered the Indian Army on 28 January 1896, and was first commissioned on 1 July 1913. In August 1915 he was appointed 'Indian Adjutant', and was advanced to Subadar in July 1917. He appears to have been appointed Subadar-Major sometime during 1922-23 and to have retired, or died, sometime before the end of 1924. His war services are consistently summarised as simply "Tochi F.F. 1897-98" in all the Indian Army List Supplements up to January 1924.

Ref: Indian Army Lists.



The Abor campaign medal to Naik Birsing Gurung, 1/8th Gurkhas

INDIA GENERAL SERVICE 1908-35, 1 clasp, Abor 1911-12 (2750 Naik Birsing Gurung, 1/8th Gurkha Rifles) good
very fine £200-250



The bronze Abor campaign medal to Cooly Chakman Chetri, 1 Gurkhali Carrier Corps

INDIA GENERAL SERVICE 1908-35, 1 clasp, Abor 1911-12, bronze issue (495 Cooly Chakman Chetri, No. 1 Gurkhali Carr. Corps) *nearly extremely fine* £250-300

The Carrier Corps comprised 5 Naga Corps and 2 Gurkhali Corps, in all some 4,400 men; the latter gradually replaced the Nagas after these had been some 6 months on service. All the Corps as well as other transport units, except the boat transport, were commanded by officers of the Supply and Transport Corps.



The bronze Abor campaign medal to Cooly Dhansing Rai, 1 Gurkhali Carrier Corps

INDIA GENERAL SERVICE 1908-35, 1 clasp, Abor 1911-12, bronze issue (220 Cooly Dhansing Rai, No. 1 Gurkhali Carr. Corps) *nearly extremely fine* £250-300

The Carrier Corps comprised 5 Naga Corps and 2 Gurkhali Corps, in all some 4,400 men; the latter gradually replaced the Nagas after these had been some 6 months on service. All the Corps as well as other transport units, except the boat transport, were commanded by officers of the Supply and Transport Corps.



The Great War ‘Mesopotamia’ D.S.O. group of seven awarded to Brigadier-General W. H. Norman, late Commandant 11th Bengal Lancers (Probyn’s Horse)

- (a) DISTINGUISHED SERVICE ORDER, G.V.R.
- (b) INDIA GENERAL SERVICE 1895-1902, 3 clasps, Relief of Chitral 1895, Punjab Frontier 1897-98, Malakand 1897 (Lieutt. W. H. Norman, 11th Bl. Lcrs.)
- (c) CHINA 1900, no clasp (Capt. W. H. Norman, 11th Bl. Lcrs.)
- (d) BRITISH WAR MEDAL (Brevet Colonel W. H. Norman)
- (e) VICTORY MEDAL, with M.I.D. oak leaf (Lt. Col. W. H. Norman)
- (f) INDIA GENERAL SERVICE 1908-35, 1 clasp, Afghanistan N.W.F. 1919 (Brig. Genl. W. H. Norman, I.A.)
- (g) DELHI DURBAR 1911, silver, unnamed as issued, original *Hunt & Roskell Ltd* court mounting but with some recent refurbishment, good very fine or better (7) £2000-2500

Walter Henry Norman was born on 14 June 1871, the eldest son of Field Marshal Sir Henry Wylie Norman, G.C.B., G.C.M.G., C.I.E. (see Lot 85). He was gazetted to the Royal Warwickshire Regiment in October 1890, and transferred to the Indian Army the following year, being posted to the 11th Bengal Lancers (Probyn’s Horse). He first saw service in the Isazai expedition on the North West Frontier in 1892, and later with the Chitral Relief Force in 1895.

During 1897-98 he took part in the operations on the North West Frontier of India, including the defence of Malakand, relief of Chakdara-Malakand, and action at Landakai. Also in the operations in Bajour and in the Mohmand country.

From April to July 1901, Norman was Aide-de-Camp in China to Lieutenant-General Sir Alfred Gaselee, G.O.C. China Expeditionary Force, and thereafter to the G.O.C. Force in India until the end of October 1901. Having passed the Staff College, he held several staff appointments in India before the outbreak of the Great War, when he accompanied the Indian Expeditionary Force to Mesopotamia in September 1916. Norman remained in Mesopotamia until the end of October 1918, and for his services was awarded the D.S.O. (*London Gazette* 25 August 1917), five times mentioned in despatches (*London Gazette* 15 August 1917, 12 March and 27 August 1918, 21 February and 5 June 1919), and given the brevet of Colonel. In June 1920 he was appointed Brigade Commander in the Indian Southern Command, and in December 1920 was made a Companion of the Bath.

Colonel and Mrs Norman were both drowned in a boating accident on Khadakwasla Lake, near Poona, on 16 April 1923. According to the *Times*, ‘It is believed that their boat capsized in a sudden squall; Mrs Norman was unable to swim.’



The Third Afghan War medal to Private S. A. Farrier, Royal West Kent Regiment

INDIA GENERAL SERVICE 1908-35, 1 clasp, Afghanistan N.W.F. 1919 (265711 Pte. S. A. Farrier, R.W. Kent R.)
extremely fine £40-50



The Mohmand campaign medal to Private A. Robertson, Royal Tank Corps

INDIA GENERAL SERVICE 1908-35, 1 clasp, Mohmand 1933 (769291 Pte. A. Robertson, R. Tank C.) *good very fine*
£300-350

Two sections of the 6th Armoured Car Company (Royal Tank Corps) took part in the Mohmand operations in 1933, one of very few British units present.



A scarce 4-clasp I.G.S. medal to Major E. A. Forbes, 18th Royal Garhwal Rifles, late 22nd Punjabis

INDIA GENERAL SERVICE 1908-35, 4 clasps, Afghanistan N.W.F. 1919, Waziristan 1919-21, Waziristan 1921-24, Burma 1930-32 (2.Lieut. E. A. Forbes, 1/22/Punjabis) together with related dress miniature, this mounted for wear, good very fine (2) £300-350

Edward Atholl Forbes was born on 7 February 1900, and first commissioned on 15 April 1919, being posted to the 1st 22nd Punjabis, with whom he served in Afghanistan and Waziristan. He transferred to the 3rd 18th Royal Garhwal Rifles in March 1922, becoming Captain in April 1925 and attached to the 11th (Territorial) Battalion. Forbes was appointed to the Burma Military Police in August 1928, as Assistant Commandant of the Mandalay Battalion, and took part in the subsequent operations in Burma during 1930-32. He was transferred to the Special Unemployed List in November 1935 and is shown with the rank of Major in the Supplement to the Indian Army List of 1942.

Ref: Indian Army Lists.



A Loe-Agra operations I.D.S.M. to Lance-Naik Sadhu Singh, 3/2nd Punjabis

INDIAN DISTINGUISHED SERVICE MEDAL, G.V.R., 2nd issue with crowned head (L-Nk. Sadhu Singh, 3-2 Punjab R.)
lacking top suspension brooch, *good very fine and scarce* £600-700

I.D.S.M. GGO 480 of 1935 for the Loe-Agra operations.

Lance-Naik Sadhu Singh received this award for an action on 5 April 1935, which became known in the battalion's annals as the 'Defence of Kila Hari' when they won four I.O.M's and four I.D.S.M's. He was also mentioned in despatches (GGO 166 of 1936).



The North West Frontier campaign medal to Gunner Kehr Singh, 2 Mountain Battery

INDIA GENERAL SERVICE 1936-39, 2 clasps, North West Frontier 1936-37, North West Frontier 1937-39 (35756 Gunner Kehr Singh, 2 Mtn. Bty.) good very fine £40-50



The M.V.O. group of eight to Lieutenant-Colonel Lord Birdwood, 2nd Baron Totnes of Anzac, late Probyn's Horse

- (a) THE ROYAL VICTORIAN ORDER, M.V.O., Member's 4th Class breast badge, silver-gilt, gold and enamels, the reverse officially numbered '536'
- (b) BRITISH WAR AND VICTORY MEDALS, with M.I.D. oak leaf (2.Lieut. C. B. Birdwood)
- (c) INDIA GENERAL SERVICE 1908-35, 2 clasps, Mahsud 1919-20, Waziristan 1919-21 (Lieut. C. B. Birdwood, 2-76 Pjbis.)
- (d) INDIA GENERAL SERVICE 1936-39, 2 clasps, North West Frontier 1936-37, North West Frontier 1937-39 (Major Hon'ble C. B. Birdwood, Probyn's Horse)
- (e) WAR AND INDIA SERVICE MEDALS, both unnamed as issued
- (f) PORTUGAL, ORDER OF AVIZ, 5th Class breast badge, silver-gilt and enamels, court mounted as worn, *nearly extremely fine* (8) £1500-2000

Christopher Bromhead Birdwood, the only son of Field Marshal Lord Birdwood, G.C.S.I., G.C.M.G., G.C.V.O., C.I.E., D.S.O., and Janetta Hope Conville, daughter of Colonel Sir Benjamin Bromhead, 4th Bart., was born at Twickenham on 22 May 1899. Lieutenant Conville Bromhead of Rorke's Drift fame was his great uncle. He spent his early childhood in India where his father was on the staff of Lord Kitchener. Educated at Clifton and Sandhurst, he was appointed A.D.C. in the spring of 1918 to his father then commanding I Anzac Corps on the Western Front, and later the Fifth Army. In 1919 he was appointed to the 5th Lancers (Probyn's Horse) and served in the Waziristan campaign of 1919-20. He was A.D.C. to his father when C-in-C Northern Army, India, 1920-24, and when Commander-in-Chief, India, 1929-30.

In 1931 Birdwood married at New Delhi, Elizabeth Vere, daughter of Lieutenant-Colonel Sir George Ogilvie, K.C.I.E., C.S.I., of the Indian Political Service. Vere Birdwood, whom he divorced in 1954, had a few words to say on 'marrying in to Probyn's Horse' in after years: 'The life itself was excessively boring, trivial, claustrophobic, confined and totally male orientated. The army wife was not expected to do anything or be anything except a decorative chattel or appendage of her husband. Nothing else was required of her whatsoever'. She further recalled the 'very strong unwritten law that regimental officers could have little affairs with wives of other regiments, but to do so with a wife in your own regiment was much frowned up. So strongly was this law obeyed that in a Frontier station, when the husband was away campaigning, it was generally considered wise for the wife left behind to have a young officer to sleep overnight in the bungalow as a guard. As far as I know this privilege, if you can call it that, was never abused.'

Birdwood was away campaigning again in Waziristan in 1937-38. In 1939 he was appointed Major commanding the Governor of Bombay's Body Guard, and later in the year he came to England in charge of the King's Indian Orderly Officers. At the end of their tour Birdwood was appointed a Member of the Royal Victorian Order, 4th class, whilst the King's Indian Orderly Officers were appointed to the 5th class of the Order. He retired from the Indian Army in 1945 and the same year led a British medical team in Germany.

His long experience of Indian affairs led to a second career of writing and lecturing. In 1946 he produced *A Continent Experiments*, followed in 1953 by *A Continent Decides*. In 1956 he published *Two Nations and Kashmir*, 'an admirably solid, informed and fair assessment of the long standing dispute between India and Pakistan'. In the late 50's and 60's he interested himself in Middle Eastern affairs, and was in Baghdad in June 1958 when the Iraq revolt erupted, researching a biography of Nuri-as-Said, an activity which brought him into contact with leading figures on both sides of the conflict. He succeeded his father as 2nd Baron Birdwood in 1951 and was an active member of the House of Lords. He took a keen interest in the doings of his old regiment up until the time of his death, being an occasional contributor to the regimental newsletter, and a regular attender of the Probyn's lunch at the Hurlingham and the Indian Cavalry Dinner at the Cavalry Club, Piccadilly. Lord Birdwood died on 5 January 1962.

Refs: Probyn's Horse Newsletter (NAM); Khaki and Gown (Birdwood); Plain Tales From the Raj; Debrett's Peerage; The Times.

Notes

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Forthcoming Auctions of Medals and Coins for 2005

Auction 65 – Wednesday, 16 March

Ancient, British and World Coins, Tokens, Numismatic Books and Banknotes

Includes the Collection of English Short Cross Coins, 1180-1247,

formed by the late Professor Jeffrey P. Mass (Part II)

Important Celtic Coins in gold and silver

The Holme (Lincolnshire) Hoard of Roman Silver Coins

A Collection of English Long Cross Coins, 1247-1272, the property of a Gentleman

The Important Collection of 17th Century Tokens of Kent formed by the late Robert Hogarth

Collections of 17th Century Tokens of Cornwall and Rutland, the property of a Gentleman

The Collection of 18th Century Trade Tokens formed by David Litrenta of York, Pennsylvania (Part I)

Thursday, 23 June

Orders, Decorations, Medals and Militaria

We are accepting material for this auction until Monday, 9 May

Auction 66 – Wednesday, 6 July

Ancient, British and World Coins, Tokens, Historical and Art Medals,

Numismatic Books and Banknotes

Includes The Collection of 18th Century Trade Tokens formed by David Litrenta

of York, Pennsylvania (Part II)

British Medals from the Collection of James Spencer (Part III)

We are accepting material for this auction until Monday, 16 May

Friday, 23 September

The Brian Ritchie Collection of H.E.I.C. and British India Medals (Part III – Final)

and in a separate catalogue

Orders, Decorations, Medals and Militaria

We are accepting material for this auction until Monday, 15 August

Wednesday and Thursday, 28-29 September

Ancient, British and World Coins, Tokens and Banknotes

We are accepting material for this auction until Monday, 15 August

More details of all forthcoming DNW auctions will be found by visiting www.dnw.co.uk

To consign material to our auctions, please call any of the DNW team on (+44) 020 7016 1700

IMPORTANT INFORMATION FOR BUYERS

Absentee Bids

If instructed we will execute bids and advise intending purchasers. No charge is made for this service. Lots will always be bought as cheaply as is allowed by such other bids and reserves as are on our books. In the event of identical bids, the earliest will take precedence. Always indicate a 'top limit' – the amount to which you would bid if you were attending the auction yourself. 'Buy' or unlimited bids will not be accepted.

All bids must be confirmed in writing, by fax or e-mail and should be received by 6pm GMT on the day before the auction. Although we will endeavour to execute all late bids, Dix Noonan Webb cannot accept responsibility for any bids received on the day of the auction itself.

Commission Form

Further advice to bidders and purchasers may be found on the commission form included with this catalogue. Please use this form when sending bids to us.

Buyers' Premium

A buyers' premium of 15 percent on the hammer price (plus VAT if resident in the European Union) is payable by the buyer of all lots.

Pre-sale Estimates

The pre-sale estimates are intended as a guide for prospective purchasers. Any bid between the listed figures would, in our opinion, offer a fair chance of success. However all lots, depending on the degree of competition, can realise prices either above or below the listed estimates.

Methods of Payment

All payments must be made in pounds sterling. Payment may be made by transfer direct to Dix Noonan Webb's account at:

Lloyds TSB

Piccadilly London Branch

39 Piccadilly

London W1J 0AA

Sort Code: 30-96-64

Account No: 0622865

Swift Code: LOYDGB2L

Please include your name, account number and invoice number with the instructions to the bank.

Alternative methods of payment which will enable immediate clearance of purchases include cash, bankers drafts, credit cards (Master Card, Visa and American Express) and debit cards. Although personal and company cheques are accepted, buyers are advised that property will not be released until such cheques have cleared.

Please note that we will not accept cash payments in excess of £8,000 (eight thousand pounds) in settlement for purchases made at any one auction.

Purchases will be despatched as soon as possible upon receipt of your written despatch instructions and full payment in pounds sterling for the lots you have bought. Carriage will be at the buyer's expense. Estimates and advice on all methods of despatch can be provided upon request.

All credit card payments are subject to an additional charge of 2 percent.

Insurance cover will be arranged unless otherwise specified and will be added to the carriage charge.

Clearance of Purchases

Buyers who have not established a credit arrangement with Dix Noonan Webb will be asked to pay for their purchases in pounds sterling when they wish to take possession of them. It is regretted that Dix Noonan Webb cannot take banker's references over the telephone at the time of clearance and that buyers cannot take possession of their purchases until cheques are cleared.

If buyers wish to pay for their purchases by cheque they are urged to arrange clearance of their cheques well in advance of the sale by supplying appropriate banker's references.

Buyers will be requested to supply a reasonable means of identification at the time of payment.

Lots will only be released to the purchaser, or his or her authorised representative, if full payment in pounds sterling has been received by Dix Noonan Webb, together with settlement of any charges due.

CONDITIONS OF BUSINESS

Conditions mainly concerning Buyers

1 The buyer

The highest bidder shall be the buyer at the 'hammer price' and any dispute shall be settled at the auctioneer's absolute discretion. Every bidder shall be deemed to act as principal unless there is in force a written acknowledgement by Dix Noonan Webb that he acts as agent on behalf of a named principal.

2 Minimum increment

The auctioneer shall have the right to refuse any bid which does not exceed the previous bid by at least 5 percent or by such other proportion as the auctioneer shall in his absolute discretion direct.

3 The premium

The buyer shall pay to Dix Noonan Webb a premium of 15 percent on the 'hammer price' and agrees that Dix Noonan Webb, when acting as agent for the seller, may also receive commission from the seller in accordance with Condition 15.

4 Value Added Tax (VAT)

The buyers' premium is subject to the current rate of Value Added Tax if the purchaser is resident in the European Union.

5 Payment

Immediately a lot is sold the buyer shall:

(a) give to Dix Noonan Webb his or her name and address and, if so requested, proof of identity; and

(b) pay to Dix Noonan Webb the 'total amount due' in pounds sterling (unless credit terms have been agreed with Dix Noonan Webb before the auction). Please note that we will not accept cash payments in excess of £8,000 (eight thousand pounds) in settlement for purchases made at any one auction.

6 Dix Noonan Webb may, at its absolute discretion, agree credit terms with the buyer before an auction under which the buyer will be entitled to take possession of lots purchased up to an agreed amount in value in advance of payment by a determined future date of the 'total amount due'.

7 Any payments by a buyer to Dix Noonan Webb may be applied by Dix Noonan Webb towards any sums owing from that buyer to Dix Noonan Webb on any account whatever, without regard to any directions of the buyer, his or her agent, whether expressed or implied.

8 Collection of purchases

The ownership of the lot(s) purchased shall not pass to the buyer until he or she has made payment in full to Dix Noonan Webb of the 'total amount due' in pounds sterling.

9 (a) The buyer shall at his or her own expense take away the lot(s) purchased not later than 5 working days after the day of the auction but (unless credit terms have been agreed in accordance with Condition 7) not before payment to Dix Noonan Webb of the 'total amount due'.

(b) The buyer shall be responsible for any removal, storage and insurance charges on any lot not taken away within 5 working days after the day of the

auction.

(c) The packing and handling of purchased lots by Dix Noonan Webb staff is undertaken solely as a courtesy to clients and, in the case of fragile articles, will be undertaken only at Dix Noonan Webb's discretion. In no event will Dix Noonan Webb be liable for damage to glass or frames, regardless of the cause.

10 Buyers' responsibilities for lots purchased

The buyer will be responsible for loss or damage to lots purchased from the time of collection or the expiry of 5 working days after the day of the auction, whichever is the sooner. Neither Dix Noonan Webb nor its servants or agents shall thereafter be responsible for any loss or damage of any kind, whether caused by negligence or otherwise, while any lot is in its custody or under its control.

11 Remedies for non-payment or failure to collect purchase

If any lot is not paid for in full and taken away in accordance with Conditions 6 and 10, or if there is any other breach of either of those Conditions, Dix Noonan Webb as agent of the seller shall, at its absolute discretion and without prejudice to any other rights it may have, be entitled to exercise one or more of the following rights and remedies:

- (a) to proceed against the buyer for damages for breach of contract.
- (b) to rescind the sale of that or any other lots sold to the defaulting buyer at the same or any other auction.
- (c) to re-sell the lot or cause it to be re-sold by public auction or private sale and the defaulting buyer shall pay to Dix Noonan Webb any resulting deficiency in the 'total amount due' (after deduction of any part payment and addition of re-sale costs) and any surplus shall belong to the seller.
- (d) to remove, store and insure the lot at the expense of the defaulting buyer and, in the case of storage, either at Dix Noonan Webb premises or elsewhere.
- (e) to charge interest at a rate not exceeding 2 percent per month on the 'total amount due' to the extent it remains unpaid for more than 5 working days after the day of the auction.
- (f) to retain that or any other lot sold to the same buyer at the sale or any other auction and release it only after payment of the 'total amount due'.
- (g) to reject or ignore any bids made by or on behalf of the defaulting buyer at any future auctions or obtaining a deposit before accepting any bids in future.
- (h) to apply any proceeds of sale then due or at any time thereafter becoming due to the defaulting buyer towards settlement of the 'total amount due' and to exercise a lien on any property of the defaulting buyer which is in Dix Noonan Webb's possession for any purpose.

12 Liability of Dix Noonan Webb and sellers

(a) Goods auctioned are usually of some age. All goods are sold with all faults and imperfections and errors of description. Illustrations in catalogues are for identification only. Buyers should satisfy themselves prior to the sale as to the condition of each lot and should exercise and rely on their own judgement as to whether the lot accords with its description. Subject to the obligations accepted by Dix Noonan Webb under this Condition, none of the seller, Dix Noonan Webb, its servants or agents is responsible for errors of descriptions or for the genuineness or authenticity of any lot. No warranty whatever is given by Dix Noonan Webb, its servants or agents, or any seller to any buyer in respect of any lot and any express or implied conditions or warranties are hereby excluded.

(b) Any lot which proves to be a 'deliberate forgery' may be returned by the buyer to Dix Noonan Webb within 15 days of the date of the auction in the same condition in which it was at the time of the auction, accompanied by a statement of defects, the number of the lot, and the date of the auction at which it was purchased. If Dix Noonan Webb is satisfied that the item is a 'deliberate forgery' and that the buyer has and is able to transfer a good and marketable title to the lot free from any third party claims, the sale will be set aside and any amount paid in respect of the lot will be refunded, provided that the buyer shall have no rights under this Condition if:

- (i) the description in the catalogue at the date of the sale was in accordance

with the then generally accepted opinion of scholars and experts or fairly indicated that there was a conflict of such opinion; or

(ii) the only method of establishing at the date of publication of the catalogue that the lot was a 'deliberate forgery' was by means of scientific processes not generally accepted for use until after publication of the catalogue or a process which was unreasonably expensive or impractical.

(c) A buyer's claim under this Condition shall be limited to any amount paid in respect of the lot and shall not extend to any loss or damage suffered or expense incurred by him or her.

(d) The benefit of the Condition shall not be assignable and shall rest solely and exclusively in the buyer who, for the purpose of this condition, shall be and only be the person to whom the original invoice is made out by Dix Noonan Webb in respect of the lot sold.

Conditions mainly concerning Sellers and Consignors

13 Warranty of title and availability

The seller warrants to Dix Noonan Webb and to the buyer that he or she is the true owner of the property or is properly authorised to sell the property by the true owner and is able to transfer good and marketable title to the property free from any third party claims. The seller will indemnify Dix Noonan Webb, its servants and agents and the buyer against any loss or damage suffered by either in consequence or any breach on the part of the seller.

14 Reserves

The seller shall be entitled to place prior to the auction a reserve on any lot, being the minimum 'hammer price' at which that lot may be treated as sold. A reserve once placed by the seller shall not be changed without the consent of Dix Noonan Webb. Dix Noonan Webb may at their option sell at a 'hammer price' below the reserve but in any such cases the sale proceeds to which the seller is entitled shall be the same as they would have been had the sale been at the reserve. Where a reserve has been placed, only the auctioneer may bid on behalf of the seller.

15 Authority to deduct commission and expenses

The seller authorises Dix Noonan Webb to deduct commission at the 'stated rate' and 'expenses' from the 'hammer price' and acknowledges Dix Noonan Webb's right to retain the premium payable by the buyer.

16 Rescission of sale

If before Dix Noonan Webb remit the 'sale proceeds' to the seller, the buyer makes a claim to rescind the sale that is appropriate and Dix Noonan Webb is of the opinion that the claim is justified, Dix Noonan Webb is authorised to rescind the sale and refund to the buyer any amount paid to Dix Noonan Webb in respect of the lot.

17 Payment of sale proceeds

Dix Noonan Webb shall remit the 'sale proceeds' to the seller not later than 35 days after the auction, but if by that date Dix Noonan Webb has not received the 'total amount due' from the buyer then Dix Noonan Webb will remit the sale proceeds within five working days after the date on which the 'total amount due' is received from the buyer. If credit terms have been agreed between Dix Noonan Webb and the buyer, Dix Noonan Webb shall remit to the seller the sale proceeds not later than 35 days after the auction unless otherwise agreed by the seller.

18 If the buyer fails to pay to Dix Noonan Webb the 'total amount due' within 3 weeks after the auction, Dix Noonan Webb will endeavour to notify the seller and take the seller's instructions as to the appropriate course of action and, so far as in Dix Noonan Webb's opinion is practicable, will assist the seller to recover the 'total amount due' from the buyer. If circumstances do not permit Dix Noonan Webb to take instructions from the seller, the seller authorises Dix Noonan Webb at the seller's expense to agree special terms for payment of the 'total amount due', to remove, store and insure the lot sold, to settle claims made by or against the buyer on such terms as Dix Noonan Webb shall in its absolute discretion think fit, to take such steps as are necessary to collect monies due by the buyer to the seller and if necessary to rescind the sale and refund money to the buyer.

19 If, notwithstanding that the buyer fails to pay to Dix Noonan Webb the 'total amount due' within three weeks after the auction, Dix Noonan Webb remits the 'sale proceeds' to the seller, the ownership of the lot shall pass to Dix Noonan Webb.

20 Charges for withdrawn lots

Where a seller cancels instructions for sale, Dix Noonan Webb reserve the right to charge a fee of 15% of Dix Noonan Webb's then latest estimate or middle estimate of the auction price of the property withdrawn, together with Value Added Tax thereon if the seller is resident in the European Union, and 'expenses' incurred in relation to the property.

21 Rights to photographs and illustrations

The seller gives Dix Noonan Webb full and absolute right to photograph and illustrate any lot placed in its hands for sale and to use such photographs and illustrations and any photographs and illustrations provided by the seller at any time at its absolute discretion (whether or not in connection with the auction).

22 Unsold lots

Where any lot fails to sell, Dix Noonan Webb shall notify the seller accordingly. The seller shall make arrangements either to re-offer the lot for sale or to collect the lot.

23 Dix Noonan Webb reserve the right to charge commission up to one-half of the 'stated rates' calculated on the 'bought-in price' and in addition 'expenses' in respect of any unsold lots.

General conditions and definitions

24 Dix Noonan Webb sells as agent for the seller (except where it is stated wholly or partly to own any lot as principal) and as such is not responsible for any default by seller or buyer.

25 Any representation or statement by Dix Noonan Webb, in any catalogue as to authorship, attribution, genuineness, origin, date, age, provenance, condition or estimated selling price is a statement of opinion only. Every person interested should exercise and rely on his or her own judgement as to such matters and neither Dix Noonan Webb nor its servants or agents are responsible for the correctness of such opinions.

26 Whilst the interests of prospective buyers are best served by attendance at the auction, Dix Noonan Webb will, if so instructed, execute bids on their behalf. Neither Dix Noonan Webb nor its servants or agents are responsible for any neglect or default in doing so or for failing to do so.

27 Dix Noonan Webb shall have the right, at its discretion, to refuse admission to its premises or attendance at its auctions by any person.

28 Dix Noonan Webb has absolute discretion without giving any reason to refuse any bid, to divide any lot, to combine any two or more lots, to withdraw any lot from the auction and in case of dispute to put up any lot for auction again.

29 (a) Any indemnity under these Conditions shall extend to all actions, proceedings costs, expenses, claims and demands whatever incurred or suffered by the person entitled to the benefit of the indemnity.

(b) Dix Noonan Webb declares itself to be a trustee for its relevant servants and agents of the benefit of every indemnity under these Conditions to the extent that such indemnity is expressed to be for the benefit of its servants and agents.

30 Any notice by Dix Noonan Webb to a seller, consignor, prospective bidder or buyer may be given by first class mail or airmail and if so given shall be deemed to have been duly received by the addressee 48 hours after posting.

31 These Conditions shall be governed by and construed in accordance with English law. All transactions to which these Conditions apply and all matters connected therewith shall also be governed by English law. Dix Noonan Webb hereby submits to the exclusive jurisdiction of the English courts and all other parties concerned hereby submit to the non-exclusive jurisdiction of the English courts.

32 In these Conditions:

(a) 'catalogue' includes any advertisement, brochure, estimate, price list or other publication;

(b) 'hammer price' means the price at which a lot is knocked down by the auctioneer to the buyer;

(c) 'total amount due' means the 'hammer price' in respect of the lot sold together with any premium, Value Added Tax chargeable and additional charges and expenses due from a defaulting buyer in pounds sterling;

(d) 'deliberate forgery' means an imitation made with the intention of deceiving as to authorship, origin, date, age, period, culture or source which is not shown to be such in the description in the catalogue and which at the date of the sale had a value materially less than it would have had if it had been in accordance with that description;

(e) 'sale proceeds' means the net amount due to the seller being the 'hammer price' of the lot sold less commission at the 'stated rates' and 'expenses' and any other amounts due to Dix Noonan Webb by the seller in whatever capacity and howsoever arising;

(f) 'stated rate' means Dix Noonan Webb published rates of commission for the time and any Value Added Tax thereon;

(g) 'expenses' in relation to the sale of any lot means Dix Noonan Webb charges and expenses for insurance, illustrations, special advertising, packing and freight of that lot and any Value Added Tax thereon;

(h) 'bought-in price' means 5 percent more than the highest bid received below the reserve.

33 Vendors' commission of sales

A commission of 15 percent is payable by the vendor on the hammer price on lots sold.

34 VAT

Commission, illustrations, insurance and advertising are subject to VAT if the seller is resident in the European Union.

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Dix Noonan Webb, established in 1991, are located in a six-storey Georgian building in the heart of London's Mayfair, two minutes walk from Green Park underground station.

Our staff of experts collectively have over 200 years of experience on all aspects of numismatics, including coins of all types, tokens, commemorative medals, banknotes, orders, decorations, campaign medals and militaria.

We hold eight auctions each year, the full contents of which are published on the Internet one month before the sale date. Printed catalogues are mailed three weeks prior to each sale. During each cataloguing cycle, details of the lots in all coin auctions are updated daily on our website.



Auction viewing room

In addition, we handle private treaty sales of fine orders, decorations and campaign medals.

Our offices, open from 9am to 5.30pm, Monday to Friday, include a dedicated pre-auction viewing room, enabling us to offer extended viewing to clients during the three weeks prior to each auction.

All DNW auctions are held at the New Connaught Rooms in Great Queen Street, Covent Garden. Lots may be viewed at Covent Garden on auction days and while the sale is taking place.

We look forward to welcoming clients old and new to Bolton Street and assure you of a warm reception.

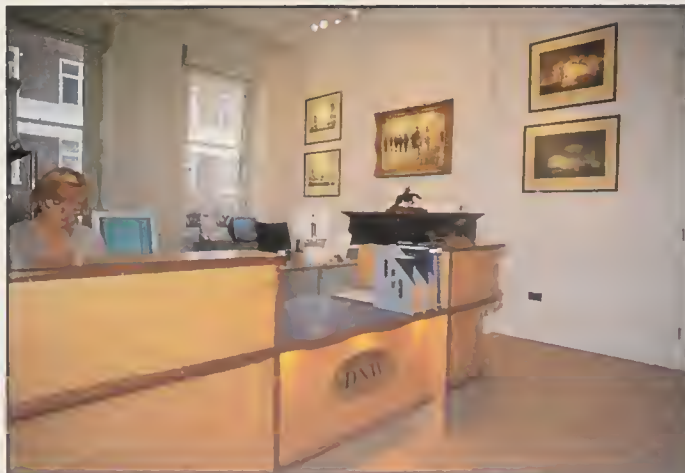
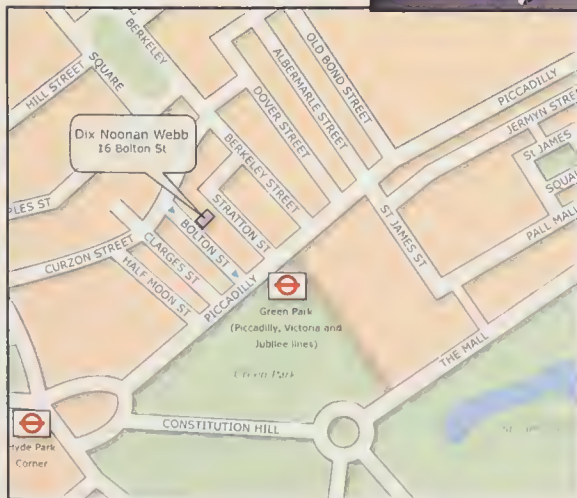
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